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MANAGEMENT IN THE JAPAN MARITIME SELF DEFENSE FORCE: THE EFFECTS OF JAPANESE VALUES AND BELIEFS

by

Takeshi Norimatsu

December 1997

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This thesis examines the organization and management of Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) and its similarities and common features with Japanese corporate management, a common style grounded in culture and more specifically in the Japanese educational system. In nearly one hundred years organizational theory, practices, and systems were mostly transplanted from the United States and European countries. However, these systems evolved to fit the environment and culture of the Japanese people. This study investigates features and relationships among the Japanese environment, culture, educational systems, and management style. Japanese society and culture deeply effect the education system, and this system in turn socializes people in basic beliefs and values (e.g., harmony and loyalty) foundational to Japanese corporate practices (e.g., group decision making and lifetime employment). This study seeks to advance our understanding of how JMSDF participates in the same culture, is grounded in the same beliefs, and engages in similar practices as other Japanese organizations.

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MANAGEMENT IN THE JAPAN MARITIME SELF DEFENSE FORCE: THE EFFECTS OF JAPANESE VALUES AND BELIEFS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the organization and management of Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) and its similarities and common features with Japanese corporate management, a common style grounded in culture and more specifically in the Japanese educational system. In nearly one hundred years organizational theory, practices, and systems were mostly transplanted from the United States and European countries. However, these systems evolved to fit the environment and culture of the Japanese people. This study investigates features and relationships among the Japanese environment, culture, educational systems, and management style. Japanese society and culture deeply effect the education system, and this system in turn socializes people in basic beliefs and values (e.g., harmony and loyalty) foundational to Japanese corporate practices (e.g., group decision making and lifetime employment). This study seeks to advance our understanding of how JMSDF participates in the same culture, is grounded in the same beliefs, and engages in similar practices as other Japanese organizations.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

It has been 45 years since the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) was established in 1952 under the control of General Headquarters, headed by General Douglas MacArthur, supreme commander for the Allied Powers. Although the organization of JMSDF was structured by the instruction of General Headquarters, its management has differed from Western management and has similarities with Japanese corporations.

Although there is a substantial literature about the Japanese style of management (e.g., Toyohiro Kono, William Ouchi, Yasuhiro Monden, Naoto Sasaki), there is little literature that relates to the Japanese education systems to its management style, especially the connection between the values and beliefs of the Japanese people and their experiences at school, and no literature has been found that relates to Japanese education and management to the management in JMSDF. Management of JMSDF has not frequently been debated in Japan because Japanese tendencies have seemed quite natural in Japanese society. Of course, the researcher is drawing on his own experience as a member of the Japanese culture.

As is often the case between JMSDF and the United States Navy, mutual understanding has been difficult since the establishment of JMSDF. Even if the JMSDF was established as a copy of the United States Navy, it functioned primarily as a coast guard, supporting the United States Navy at the time of the Korean War. By contrast, the United States Navy functioned more as the police of the world at that time. This image or concept seems to be alive up to now. The main difficulty in understanding is that the management styles of the two nations are different from each other. This may cause misunderstandings in the joint training or joint operations.

B. OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The objectives of this thesis are to examine the organization and management of JMSDF and its similarities and common features with Japanese corporate management, a common style grounded in culture and more specifically in the Japanese educational system. It will serve as an explanation of Japanese organizational behavior and for a better understanding of the Japanese people.

The research questions are:

1. What values and beliefs underlie the Japanese educational system?
2. What are the relations of the Japanese education system to characteristics of Japanese organizational behavior?
3. How does JMSDF's characteristics relate to those of Japanese management?
4. The first question asks about the relations between the values and beliefs of the Japanese and Japanese educational systems. The second question asks about the role of the Japanese educational system and how it affects management in both Japanese corporations and governmental organizations. The third question asks about the similarity and relations of management in the JMSDF and Japanese corporate management.

C. METHODOLOGY

This thesis focuses on the culture and values of Japanese society, as exhibited in the school system and in the management of companies. The writer is Japanese and thus well socialized in the values and beliefs of his society. The contrast between experiences in the U.S. and Japan have provided a continuing motivation to examine the issues and differences.

The primary method for this examination has been the work of management scholars and social scientists who have studied Japanese society, education and management. Scholarly articles and texts were sought in computer searches of library data bases. In addition, formal documents from the Japanese Government, Defense agency and

commercial publications were obtained. Over a period of almost two years, articles were read and analyzed. The most recurring and salient ideas relevant to values and beliefs emerged in an inductive, thematic analysis. These were then applied to an analysis of JMSDF.

D. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter II describes the Japanese society and its environment. The chapter explains the values and beliefs of the Japanese to let readers understand the characteristics of the Japanese people, and it introduces how the values and beliefs affect the features of the Japanese educational system and Japanese style of management that are described in next chapters. Chapter III illustrates the Japanese educational system and relates the features of the system to the cultural background described in the previous chapter. The chapter relates Japanese education to management in Japanese organization. Chapter IV illustrates the characteristics of the Japanese style of management, and relates it to Japanese education and its environment. Chapter V includes the features of organization and management of JMSDF and describes the common features it shares the Japanese management of companies described in the previous chapter. Chapter VI provides a brief discussion of conclusions.

II. JAPANESE SOCIETY AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

When I speak of the JMSDF, I always mention about the characteristics of the Japanese and their behavior because these ideas helps understanding the Japanese themselves. In this chapter I describe Japanese values, beliefs, and features of behaviors of Japanese people in the society and their surrounding environment.

A. VALUES AND BELIEFS

When the Japanese people speak of their religions, most of them may say that they do not have specific religion to believe. From the beginning of the year they listen to the sound of the bell ring at a Buddhist temple on the new year's eve, and go to the Shinto shrine to pray for good luck of the year on the new year's day. Many couples hold their wedding ceremony at the Christ church, and attend the Buddhist style funerals. On the 15th of August they hold Buddhist festival for praying for their ancestors, and enjoy Halloween and Christmas parties. Contemporary Japanese society's connections of society to religion are not as strong as they used to be. Creating harmonious relations with others through mutual benefit and the fulfillment of social obligations is more significant for most Japanese than an individual's relationship to the God. Harmony, order, and self-development are three of the most important values that underlie Japanese social behaviors (Yamamoto, 1992). Several fundamental Japanese ideas about the nature of human society do derive from religious and philosophical traditions. Religious practices for some events are encouraged to promote harmonious relations with others and the fulfillment of social obligations as a member of a family and a community.

1. Empathy and Human Relations

In Japanese mythology, as in the mythologies of other people, the gods show human emotions, such as love and anger. In these stories, behavior that results in positive relations with others is rewarded, and empathy, identifying oneself with another, is highly valued. By

contrast, actions that undermine social relations or harm others are condemned. Hurtful behavior is punished by removing the offender in the myths (Kimura, 1987).

Japanese society that strongly relies on social sanctions and emphasizes the benefits of harmony (Yamamoto, 1992). Japanese children learn that human fulfillment comes from close association with others. Children learn early to recognize that they are part of the society, beginning with the family and later extending to larger groups such as neighborhood, school, community, and then, workplace. I will describe the details how children get to know the behaviors and the relations with others in the next chapter.

Depending on others is a natural part of the human condition for the Japanese. In interpersonal relationships, most Japanese tend to avoid apparent competition or confrontations with others (Dolan and Worden, 1992). Working with others requires self-control, but it brings benefits such as emotional security and social identity by contributing to the group. *Wa*, the notion of harmony within a group, requires an attitude of cooperation and a recognition of social roles. If each individual in the group understands personal obligations and recognizes the situations of others, then the group as a whole receives the benefits. Success can be achieved only if all individuals put forth their best efforts. Decisions often are made only after consulting with everyone in the group. Consensus does not mean that there is universal agreement, but this style of decision making includes each member of the group in an information exchange, reinforces feelings of group identity, and makes implementation of the decision smooth (Sasaki, 1981). Cooperation within a group is often focused on competition between the group and the other one in the same category, whether the issue is one of educational success or market share. Symbols such as uniforms, names, banners, and songs identify the group and distinguish it from others (Monden, 1985). Participation in group activities, whether official or unofficial, is a symbolic statement that individuals wish to be considered part of the group. Thus, after-work bar hopping provides not only opportunities for the exchange of information and release of

social tensions, but also opportunities to express a desire for continued affiliation or connection.

Social interaction beyond that which occurs with group members with whom one lives and works also is a necessity in contemporary society (Yamamoto, 1992). If the relationship is expected to continue over a long period, whether in business, marriage, employment, or neighborhoods, it is important to take great care in establishing and maintaining good relationships. Such relationships are often begun by using the social networks of a relative, friend, or colleague who can introduce the desired person. *Nakoodo* (go-between) often refers to the person who negotiates marriage arrangements, including checking each family's background, conveying questions and criticisms, and smoothing out difficulties between the two families. But this kind of personal mediation is common in many aspects of Japanese life, including work relationships.

Group membership in Japan provides enjoyment and fulfillment, but also causes tensions and pressures. An ideology of group harmony does not ensure harmony in fact. Japan is an extremely competitive society, yet competition within the group must be suppressed (Yamamoto, 1992). It is mostly the individual who bears the pressure of these interpersonal tensions. Many Japanese cope with these stresses by escaping from tensions and enjoying the popular culture.

2. Order and Status

A Japanese vision of the social order is based on the influence of Confucianism, because after the Chinese influence in the sixth century, Japanese society became increasingly stratified (Kimura, 1987). Confucianism emphasizes that harmony among heaven, nature, and human society achieved through each person's acceptance of his or her social role and by each person's contributions to the social order by proper behavior. An often quoted phrase from the Confucianism essay explains:

> Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly

governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy (Dolan and Worden, 1992).

This view implies that hierarchy is natural. Relative status differences define nearly all social interaction. The seniority, gender, educational background, and job are common matters that distinguish status (Yamamoto, 1992). Seniority is described as *senpai* and *kouhai* (senior and junior) in Japanese. This relationship dominants all across the country, from school life including elementary school to social life at a working place. Japanese people cannot ignore this status when they belong to the organization or have conversations with others. It has been taught by the experience that juniors should follow seniors even if it does not make sense. In addition, it is very hard for juniors to indicate the mistakes that seniors made, or insist seniors' fault, or exceed seniors. If they do, the situation will be recognized that a junior humiliated seniors, and that brings serious problems in relation between seniors and juniors in social life. The Japanese tend to act modestly in order not to humiliate seniors or others, even themselves. Without some knowledge of the other's background, age and gender may be an individual's only guidelines. The Japanese prefer not to interact with a stranger to avoid the misuse of respect words in etiquette. Thus, they exchange business cards or calling cards frequently. These are valuable tools of social interaction because they provide social information about another person's status and thus promote harmonious social exchange (Kimura, 1986). This may seem strange to Americans who often seek to minimize status differences, but Japanese try to find the status differences when a person does not behave in accordance with status expectations.

The Japanese language is one means of expressing status differences and shows the assumption that hierarchy is natural. The ending of verbs regularly expresses relationships of superiority or inferiority. Japanese has a rich vocabulary of honorific and humble terms that indicate a person's status or may be manipulated to express what the speaker desires the relationship to be (Kimura, 1987). There are speech patterns difference between men and women. Women mostly use polite forms. Certain words are identified with masculine

speech and others with feminine. For example, there are many ways of saying the pronoun "I," depending on the formality of the occasion, the gender of the speaker, and the relative status of the speaker and listener.

Hierarchy often implies a rank ordering of roles and a rigid set of rules as in bureaucracy, and Japan has its share of bureaucracy. But the kind of hierarchical sense that spreads through the whole society of Japan is of a different sort, which anthropologist Robert Smith calls "diffuse order." For example, in premodern times, local leaders were given a great deal of autonomy in exchange for assuming total responsibility for affairs in their localities (Dolan and Worden, 1992). In Japan, responsibility is collective and authority is diffuse. The person who seems to be in charge is, in reality, bound into the web of group interdependence as tightly as those who appear to be his subordinates (Monden, 1985). Thus leadership in Japanese society relies not so much on a forceful personality and sharp decision-making skills, but on sensitivity to the feelings of others and skills in mediation (See Chapter IV). In the Japanese organizations, leaders are expected to be responsible for the major problem. The way of showing the responsibility for the serious problem is to resign their posts, even though they have no direct involvement in the situation. This has been one of the Japanese traditions for a long time. It comes from the shame of the sin. *Seppuku* (*harakiri*) is one of example of the case when it occurred.

Status in Japan is based on specific relationships between individuals, often relationships of social dependency between those of unequal status. *Giri* or *on* (duty), the sense of obligation to those to whom one is indebted, requires deferential behavior and eventually repayment of the favor, which in turn calls forth future favors (Yamamoto, 1992). Rules of hierarchy are tempered by the relationship itself. This tempering is known as *ninjoo* (human emotion or compassion); (Yamamoto, 1992). The potential conflict between *giri* and *ninjoo* has been a frequent theme in Japanese drama and literature. Although the young generation in 1990s are less likely to phrase those personal dilemma, saying that the concept of *giri* is old-fashioned, many of them continue to feel the stress of

doing what they should when it is not what they want. Social order exists in part because all members of the society are linked in relationships of social dependency, each involved in giving and receiving.

3. Goals and Self

Relative status may be seen as the basis of social organization and affiliation with others may be considered desirable, but these assumptions by no means negate a concept of self. An ideology of harmony with others does not automatically create a congruence of individual with group or institutional goals (Dolan and Worden, 1992). The Japanese often distinguish their attitudes of individuality from individualism. Individuality and uniqueness often is admired if the person is seen as sincere or acting from the heart. Individualism is viewed negatively, and it is almost the same as selfishness, the opposite of the empathy that is valued highly. In Japan, selfishness can be the target of the blame for many social problems in modern society. These problems include bullying or discrimination in community such as school, office, and community, and child abuse.

Like all other societies, Japan has many conflicts between individuals and groups. The difference from Western society is not that the Japanese have no sense of self, but that the self is more strongly defined in terms of its interaction with others and not through individual personality, achievement, and expression.

Japanese mastery is achieved by overcoming hardship, through self-discipline, and through personal striving for a perfection that one knows is not possible but remains a worthy goal. In this view, both the self and society can be improved, and in fact are interrelated, since the ideal of selfhood toward which many Japanese strive is one in which consideration of others is paramount (Kimura, 1987). In Japan, maturity means to continue to care about what others are thinking and to feel confident in one's ability to judge and act effectively, understanding social norms.

The fact that the country is surrounded by the seas has doubtless had a strong influence. In the case of England, which also is an island country, it is possible to swim

across the Strait of Dover and flee to the spacious European continent. But in the case of Japan, it is impossible to swim across the Tsushima Strait and flee to the Asian continent. The Japanese have adopted a way of life that seeks to avoid surfacing disputes and "finding victory in defeat." The one who becomes angry and who uses force is the loser because the Japanese have gentle and somewhat feminine national characteristics (Yamamoto, 1992).

The consciousness that Japan is a country protected by the thick wall of the sea which at the same time prevents escape has been dominant among the Japanese from the time of Japan's isolation (1639-1853) up to the present. This helped form the Japanese characteristic of not showing on one's face the fierce changes in the heart and of always assuming a calm, gentle, and cool attitude. If a person is individualistic, this arouses a clearly controversial, confrontational or fighting situation with others this is likely to fail: that person will be snubbed and ignored (Kimura, 1987). Consequently, the mentality is formed of bending, enduring, tolerating, and holding back on one's own wishes.

Living according to one's personal ideology or philosophy and advancing while overcoming or removing by force anything that obstructs one is generally not preferred in Japan (Dolan and Worden, 1992). It is not a "good" way of life; it is viewed as clumsy and graceless. People are wary of or shun those who have clear-cut ideologies or philosophies (Yamamoto, 1992). Japan and individual Japanese are always worried about how they are viewed by those around them and by the world; they tend not to focus on how they view those around them and the world. People do have contradictory feelings such as, "It is not appropriate to be the center of disputes, or to be too conspicuous, but it is good to become NO.1."

In conversations between Japanese people, they seldom use the subject word "I". In Japanese language, "I" means, "Differing from the general thinking, I believe that ..." The Japanese who hears "I" thus will place some distance between themselves and the other person and be on their guard. By not using "I," they will have the sense of solidarity and talk with sympathy.

> The Japanese have strong feelings of always being conscious of one's relationship with one's surroundings and with the whole and making the most of oneself in an orderly form within the whole. It can be said that nature as a whole surrounds him and, at the same time, society as a whole provides gods to the Japanese (Kimura, 1986).

Minami Haruo, a famous singer in Japan, used to say that, "*Okyakusama wa kamisama desu*" (Each one of audience is a god).

Japanese do not consider human beings and nature as confronting each other and do not try to control people or make them work; they have a spirit of "ties" between things and people (Kimura, 1987). Feelings of self-defense are not strong on the individual level. People hide their feelings from their faces and try to be gentle and mutually excuse mistakes. Words do not serve as weapons with which to protect oneself and to attack the opponents. They are means to express mutual feelings and are nothing more than lubricant.

A difference between principle and true intentions, between formality and reality and between words and actions is occasionally quite big in Japan (Dolan and Worden, 1992). It is necessary to use various steps to find out what the real intentions of another person are. Even if the other person smiles and shows the greatest friendship with words, it cannot be immediately determined if his words and actions contain anything more than a wish to maintain peace under the circumstances and to show that he has no intention of hurting others deeply (Kimura, 1987). Actually, there is no need for words between two Japanese who deeply trust each other. Silence is what directly expresses the happiness, trust and satisfaction of the Japanese.

Those who use flattery, those who talk too much, those who show off with glib words and those who try to sell themselves are considered vulgar and undignified (Yamamoto, 1992). People believe that those who have ability and exert strong effort will be recognized by everyone and will be supported by subordinates, thus moving upward. Those who overuse words and try to move upward while pushing others aside are considered dangerous and will be pushed down by the crowd at some stage.

Feelings of loneliness and the consciousness of sin are very weak among the Japanese who have fierce competitive relationships but live in a society amid the harmony of the whole and always exercise self-restraint (Kimura, 1987). The Japanese have a strong sense of shared values and respect politeness between each other. They live in the Japanese society excusing each other. That is because they do not hurt others for the sake of self-defense and are not plagued by the consciousness of sin.

B. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Japanese are said to be autonomous. One example showed how they were autonomous when the catastrophic earthquake hit Kobe and the vicinity in 1995. The report of no plunder or robbery broke out in the chaotic situation at that time surprised people in the world. However, from the beginning children are influenced by society's emphasis on social interdependence. In fact, Japanese human development may be seen as a movement toward mastery of an ever expanding circle of social life, beginning with the family, widening to include school and neighborhood as children grow, and incorporating roles as colleague, inferior and superior (*koohai* and *senpai*). Viewed in this perspective, socialization does not culminate with adolescence, for the individual must learn to be, for example, a section chief, a parent-teacher association member, or a grandparent at various points in life.

The Japanese often use the distinction between *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside). These terms are relative, and the "we" implied in *uchi* can refer to the individual, the family, a work group, a company, a neighborhood, or even all of Japan. But it is always defined in opposition to a "they." The context or situation thus calls for some level of definition of self. Dolan and Worden showed an example how the Japanese define themselves:

> When an American businessman meets a Japanese counterpart, the Japanese will define himself as a member of a particular company with which the American is doing business. However , if the American makes a cultural mistake, the Japanese is likely to define himself as Japanese as distinguished

> from a foreigner. The American might go away from his encounter with the belief that the Japanese think of themselves only as members of a group. The same person attending a school event with one of his children might be defined at the level of his family or household. (Dolan and Worden, 1992 p. 110)

Since they are children, the Japanese are taught the considerate of the needs of others. the private emotions and perhaps the fun-loving, relaxed side of Japanese individuals are tolerated and even admired as long as these do not interfere with the performance of more public responsibilities (Yamamoto, 1992). The proper performance of social roles is necessary to the smooth function of society. Individuals use a shifting scale of *uchi* and *soto* to define themselves in various situations.

The family is the earliest place of the social life for an individual and provides a model of social organization for the wider world (Dolan and Worden, 1992). Those parents are to be instructors who shows the behavior as how the Japanese to be. But at times the term "family" may refer to the nuclear family with small number of children, and most parents work until late in the evening, the status of "family" is diminishing than it used to be.

Beyond the family, the next group to which children are introduced is the neighborhood (Dolan and Worden, 1992). Within the informal group of young children in neighborhood playground, accompanied by mothers, children begin to learn to get along with others.

Among neighbors, there is great concern for relationship. Extra care is taken to maintain proper relations while maximizing privacy. Participation in neighborhood activities is not mandatory, if not, the relation might be in danger. There is big concern for the family's reputation. Because neighbors are interested in the other family's background, including husband's work, status, children's grade in schools, and so on. The emphasis on good relations with neighbors helps counteract the potential depersonalization of urban

living. Working together on community projects and exchanging information helps maintaining a sense of community.

Entering into the labor force gives more social relationships (Dolan and Worden, 1992). For many adults, these contacts are important sources of friendships and resources. Especially for men, the workplace is the focus of their social world, because mostly the Japanese workplace is based on the life-time employment system. The relationship in the workplace could be from school graduation until mandatory retirement. (See Chapter IV)

Because of the features of the Japanese social standards, individuals are motivated to maintain *wa* (harmony) and participate in group activities, not only on the job, but in after-hours socializing as well. The image of group loyalty, however, might have been more a matter of ideology than practice.

In next chapter I will discuss the relationship between the Japanese society and its environment affect the education environment in Japan, featuring Japanese education system.

III. THE JAPANESE EDUCATION SYSTEM

After World War II, the education system had to change in response to the orders of GHQ. The education system under the Imperial military needed to be democratized because it influenced badly for educating children. Japan was forced to accept Western education system. Due to social behavior and environment (see Chapter II), the system was adapted to the style of the Japanese people.

In this chapter, I describe the history and current condition of Japanese education. I also explain how the education system are combined to the Japanese social behavior that is seen in Japanese management.

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Japanese Education before World War II

It was after 1868, after 260 years of seclusion from the outside world, when the new leaders of Meiji era was established. Japan realized that education was fundamental to modernization and building a new nation state. The Meiji leaders established a public education system to help Japan catch up with the Western countries. Missions were sent abroad to study the education systems of European countries.

> These missions and other observers returned with the ideas of decentralization, local school boards, and teacher autonomy. Such ideas and ambitious initial plans, however, proved very difficult to carry out. After some trial and error, a new national education system emerged. As an indication of its success, elementary school enrollments climbed from about 40 or 50 percent of the school-age population in the 1870s to over 90 percent by 1900. (Dolan and Worden, 1992)

As the system was imported to Japan, the system came to be more reflective of Japanese values. Confucian precepts was stressed, especially the hierarchy of human relations, and service to the nation. One of the fundamental principles of the Japanese education system at that time was to educate the pupils specifically to meet the need of the

country. This was clearly stated in the first clause of the Imperial University Edict of 1886, which was:

> The Imperial University shall have as its purpose instruction in the arts and sciences such as accords with the cardinal principles of the State and research into their deepest mysteries. (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994)

These ideals, embodied in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, and highly centralized government control over education, largely guided Japanese education until the end of World War II (Dolan and Worden, 1992). In the early twentieth century, primary education was virtually universal, but at the higher education level, it was highly selective. The purpose of the Imperial University Edict was to establish universities in Japan that were as good as those in European countries. In order to produce the high level students for those universities, higher schools were also established by the government. Entering those universities was the only route to becoming a minister and helping to run the nation or becoming a doctor. Many wished to enter the Imperial University via the higher school, and the school had to select these students that were suitable by means of examination. That was the beginning of the history of very tough entrance examinations.

Because education was largely controlled by the government, the nation's situation highly influenced educational outcomes. In the 1930s, education was subject to strong military and nationalistic influences.

2. Japanese Education after World War II

By 1945 the Japanese education system had been devastated, and most values and beliefs of prewar was denied by the GHQ. Because of its role of shaping public attitudes, reform of the education system continued.

Occupation policy makers and the United States Education Mission, set up in 1946, made changes to democratize Japanese education (Beasley, 1995). They instituted the six-three-three grade structure (six years of elementary school, three years of lower-secondary school, and three years of upper-secondary school), which included nine years of compulsory education. The higher schools were changed as upper-secondary schools (high

schools) and increased in the number of higher education institutes, which resembled the American system.

Curricula and textbooks were revised, the nationalistic morals course was abolished and replaced with social studies, locally elected school boards were introduced, and teachers union were established (Dolan and Worden, 1992). The 'ideology of militarism and ultra-nationalism' was banned. Fundamental Law of Education (March 1947) set the aim of developing personality in order to produce citizens 'sound in body and mind, who shall love truth and justice'.[1] The educational mission also tried to change in teaching methods, so as to inculcate 'independent thinking' in place of 'memorization, conformity, and a vertical system of duties and loyalties' (Beasley, 1995), but it must have been most difficult to put into practice.

After the restoration of full national sovereignty in 1952, Japan immediately began to modify some of the changes in education to reflect Japanese ideas about education and educational administration (Dolan and Worden, 1992). The Ministry of Education regained power and appointed school boards. It reinstituted a modified course in moral education and assumed significant responsibility for funding, curricula, textbooks, and national educational standards. Teaching became rather a matter of duplicating the textbook that was provided by Ministry of Education. There was no discussion between students and teacher. Teachers were supposed to teach, or track the instruction that was provided, without describing the practical application of the subject. All students had to do was just follow their teacher and practice as they were told by teachers so that they could be Japanese standard students.

In spite of the efforts of the Education Mission, Japan took a course that was not far different from its pre-war system.

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[1] Translated text of the 1947 constitution; Society and Education.

B. THE EDUCATIONAL ORDER

1. The Contemporary Educational Context

Many historical and cultural characteristics shape the current Japanese education. Japanese tradition stresses respect for society, order, and group goals, rather than individual interests. Generally speaking, hard work, diligence, and perseverance are important for a successful life. In that manner, the entrance education system exerts strong influence throughout the entire education system.

The academic achievements of Japanese students are extremely high by international standards. Japanese children consistently rank at or near the top in successive international tests of mathematics (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994). This may be based on the preparations for the entrance examination, which requires considerable technique to acquire a high score.

A majority of children began their education by attending preschool or kindergarten, although it is not part of the official system (Dolan and Worden, 1992). The official structure provides compulsory education and free schooling from first grade to ninth grade. Upper-secondary school, from grades ten to twelve, are not compulsory, but 95 percent go on to upper-secondary schools (high schools), technical colleges, special training schools, colleges, or miscellaneous schools for three years (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994). About one-third of the upper-secondary school students choose four-year universities, two-year junior colleges, or other institutions. (see Figure 1)

Japan in the 1990s remains a highly educated society compared with any other country in the world. That is because achievement in education is highly evaluated in Japanese society and it is a clue to success in work and in society. In addition, the structure of education does not consist only of government-providing official education institutes, but also schools outside the official school system and private education institutes. It plays an important role in education in Japan, and should not be ignored.

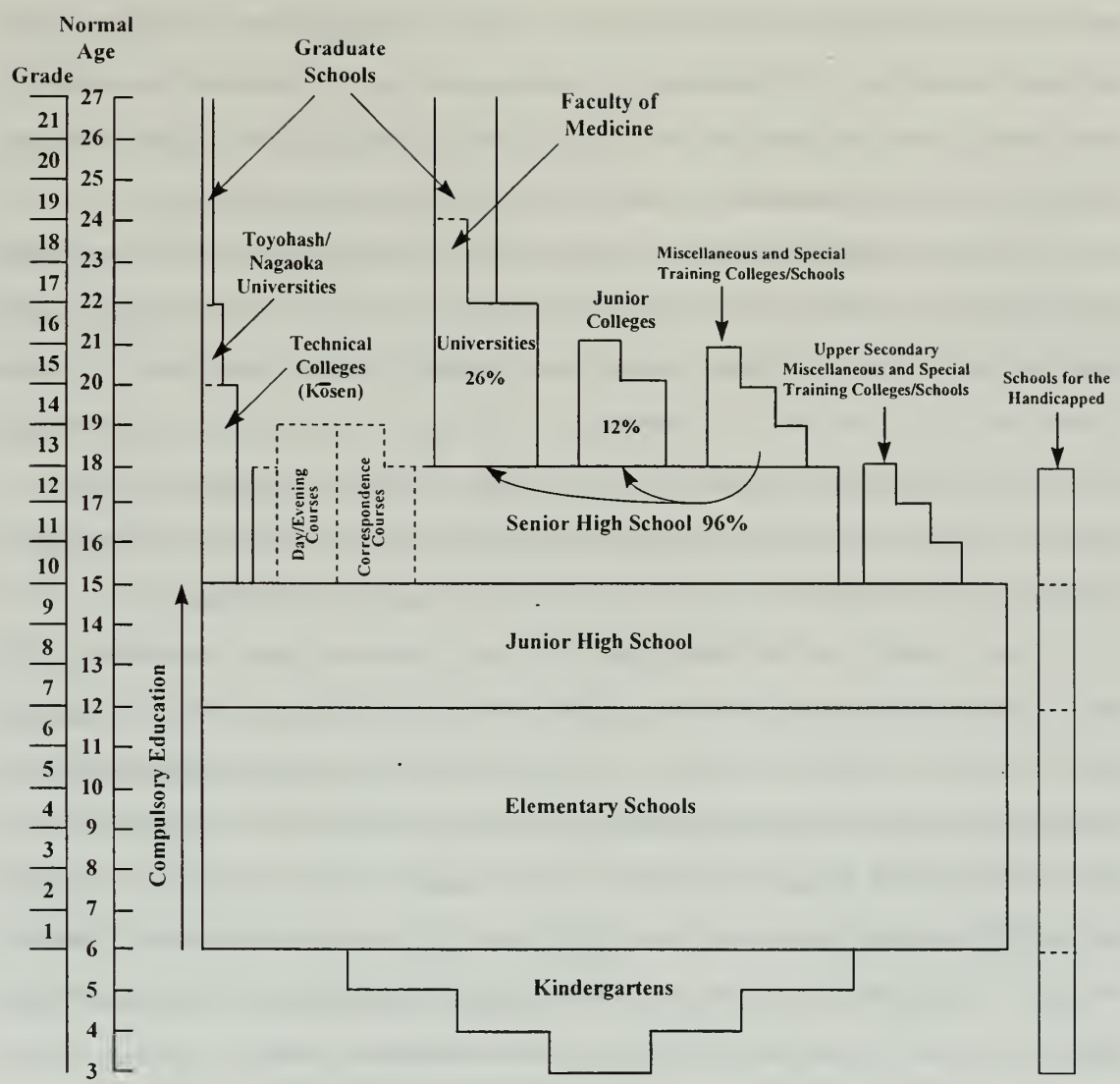

Figure 1. Organization of the Japanese Education System
From Ref. (*Statistical Abstract of Education*)

2. Passive Learning Method

Teaching in both schools and universities is mainly one-way lecturing, with no questions from pupils or students, although teachers try to encourage questions. This Confucian approach assumes the teacher is superior to pupils and not to be questioned (Kimura, 1987). This would not be appropriate in the Western countries, where one-way teaching is thought to be undesirable. The objective in Japan is to provide a firm theoretical

base through education to form the basis for training throughout the individual's career (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994). In addition, it is expected that people will make efforts to extend their knowledge after the end of their formal education, by reading, attending courses, or by other means, either on their companies' expense or on their own.

There are several important beliefs about education, especially compulsory schooling: that all the children have the ability to learn the material; that effort, perseverance, and self-discipline, rather than academic ability, determines academic success; and that these study and behavioral habits can be taught (Dolan and Worden, 1992). Thus, students in elementary and junior-high schools are not grouped or taught on the basis of their ability, and instruction is not based on individual differences. Compulsory schooling gives all the student equal educational treatment all over the country.

Once a child enters the kindergarten, he/she is given a uniform, a school bag, a hat, and is taught to become the same as others do. When he/she goes on to the elementary school, he/she is given free textbooks distributed by the Ministry of Education, with directions on how to follow the rules to be a standard Japanese. He/she is told by the teacher how to stand in line or make formations, his/her uniform style, his/her hair style, what he/she should or should not do at school, life style as a pupil, and so on. Lunch is given by the school without any choice. He/she will be controlled by hundreds of rules until he/she finishes compulsory schooling. They get to know how to live in the community, which resembles Japanese society, through the school life.

This uniform curricula and approach teaches students conformity of behavior, and also a lack of flexibility, creativity, and opportunities for individual expression. Unlike classes in the United States, it is rare for students to give presentations before an audience or hold class discussions. Japanese students in general are not accustomed to presentations, discussions, arguments, and being spotlighted on the stage alone. Modesty and silence without shame are virtues in Japanese society. They think it is shameful to make mistakes in front of others. In a way, it should be said that they dislike being humiliated or put to

shame, and they want to be perfect. Most of them concern about others' reaction of what they have said and done, and try to avoid disputes and conflicts, and settle peacefully. They sometimes use the method of hiding their feeling: just obey others without objections. This is what we say '*Sawaranu kami ni tatari nashi*' (Do not touch and there is no harm). They always seek themselves as normal, not special. They do not like to be conspicuous but once they spotlighted on the stage as a group, it seems that they have much more confidence in what they do. The basic focus of Japanese education is on the group rather than individual achievement.

It seems that the student is a product made by an automated line under the tight control which is called the Japanese standardized education system, and the system is trying to fix or remove defects. The student who seems individualistic often becomes a target of bullying and may receive lower estimates by teachers so that they try to be the same as others. This system has given to students homogeneous values under the Japanese historical and cultural background all across the country.

Compulsory schooling is said to be fundamental in shaping a positive attitude to a lifetime of education. It does not matter what grade they achieve at the schools, but it is mandatory for students to finish the compulsory schooling system. This brings 95 percent of students into the upper-secondary (high) schools. (see Table 1 and Table 2)

Table 1. Number of Senior High Schools (1994)

Type of School	Daytime	Night	Dual	Total
Single-Course				
Normal	2448	97	287	2832
Agriculture	169	12	7	188
Technical	247	23	129	399
Commerce	231	5	47	283
Fisheries	32			32
Home Care	13	3		16
Nursing	8		1	9
Others	21			21
TOTAL	3169	140	471	3780
Comprehensive	1368	46	303	1717
GRAND TOTAL	4537	186	774	5497

Source *Report on Basic Data on Schools*, Japanese Ministry of Education

Table 2. Numbers of Senior High School Students

	1987	1989	1991	1993	1994
Normal					
Male	1,933,697	2,052,087	1,981,081	1,812,616	1,757,084
Female	1,992,654	2,117,384	2,055,374	1,896,968	1,846,228
Technical					
Male	459,028	465,257	445,193	408,101	394,561
Female	19,520	24,058	27,611	29,980	31,119
Commerce					
Male	165,876	171,836	167,659	154,232	148,643
Female	412,951	416,905	393,710	346,655	325,696
Agriculture					
Male	104,710	105,370	100,572	94,005	91,562
Female	49,028	50,959	48,784	44,273	44,000

Source *Report on Basic Data on Schools*, Japanese Ministry of Education

3. High-pressure School System

In Japan, practical experience or experimental work is not highly valued, but theoretical knowledge is appreciated at any level, including entrance examinations.

Japan is well known for its high-pressure school system, and they call it '*Shiken-Jigoku* '(examination hell). The incentive to the high-pressure system is that the status in Japanese society is determined by the brand name of universities they graduate from.

> Of the 513 universities in Japan, 95 are National (funded by the Ministry of Education), 39 are Public (funded by the prefectures), and two are governmental (funded by Ministries other than the Ministry of Education). On the whole, these are considered the best, although several of the 377 private universities, most notably Waseda, Keio, and Sophia, also have a very high reputation. In addition there are 32 National, 51 public, and hundreds of private junior colleges. (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994)

In large companies and in government, the CEO and the top management class (to the staff level) come from the best universities. Therefore, there is extraordinary pressure at all levels of society to enter these best universities. In order to get into one of them, it is important to have been to one of the best senior high schools. In practice, there is an acknowledged hierarchy in the reputation of all schools at all levels, just as there is in the universities (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994). In order to get into the best senior high schools,

students have to take extra lessons at special private schools that offer technique for entrance examination after school hours and sometimes on the weekends.

4. After-School Education

For the students who are eager to enter notable higher schools, they have to give up their free time, even vacations, and time to sleep. Actually it is common for most of lower and upper-secondary school students who are preparing for entrance examinations to study as late as 1 am to 3 am on weekdays. Even at the elementary school level, the competition begins aiming at entering top universities.

There are discussions that criticizes involvement of special private school (*juku*) on education who concern about children's biased knowledge, and less experience in human life. Actually, children are sent to the school by mostly concerned parents to improve scores on upper-secondary school entrance examinations. They provide supplementary education that children need to keep up with their regular school curricula. Moreover, children who feel inadequate in regular school work attend classes to improve test scores and prepare for upper-secondary and university entrance examinations. In many ways, *juku* compensates for formal educations' inability or unwillingness to address particular individual problems (Dolan and Worden, 1992). Half of the Compulsory schooling children attend *juku* these days. Some *juku* offer academic subjects that are not available in the public school curricula.

Juku also plays an social role in making new friends; many children ask their parents to send them to *juku* because their friends go. But there are many who do not attend *juku*. They use commercial study guides and textbooks to reinforce their education. In addition, there is some educational broadcasting available, which requires much cheaper tuition. Students who can afford it take extra lessons at home with tutors. Each of these additional educational opportunities emphasizes rote learning and the skills to raise test scores on the examination.

C. HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE JAPANESE MANAGEMENT

1. College Entrance in Japan

College entrance is based largely on the scores that students achieves in entrance examinations. Private institutions accounted for 73 percent of all university enrollments in 1988,[2] but with a few exceptions, the public national universities were the most highly regarded. This distinction has its origins in historical factors: especially the long years of dominance of the select imperial universities that trained Japan's leaders before the war (Kimura, 1986). There are differences in quality, particularly in facilities and faculty ratios. In addition, certain prestigious employers, notably the government and select large corporations, continue to restrict their hiring of new employees to graduates of the most esteemed universities. There is a close link between university background and employment opportunity. Because Japanese society places such great store on academic credentials, the competition to enter the prestigious universities is intense. In addition, the eighteen-year-old population was still growing in the late 1980s, which increased the number of applicants.

Such intense competition means that many students cannot compete successfully for admission to the college of their choice. An unsuccessful student could either accept an admission elsewhere, forego a college education, or wait until the following spring to take the national examinations again (Dolan and Worden, 1992). A large number of students choose the last option. These students, called *roonin,* spent an entire year and sometimes longer studying for another attempt at the entrance examinations.

Yobikoo, or cram schools, are private schools that help students prepare for entrance examinations. While *yobikoo* have many programs for upper-secondary school students, they are best known for their specially designed full-time, year-long classes for *roonin.* The number of applicants to four-year universities totaled almost 560,000 in 1988. *Roonin* accounted for about 40 percent of new entrants to four-year colleges in 1988.[3] Most *roonin*

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2 Shinken-Zemi (Entrance Exam Information), Fukutake Shoten Ltd.,1989.
3 Ibid.

were men, but about 14 percent were women. The *roonin* experience is so common in Japan that the Japanese educational structure is often said to have an extra *roonin* year built into it.

Yobikoo sponsors a variety of programs, both full-time and part-time, and employs an extremely sophisticated battery of tests, student counseling sessions, and examination analysis to supplement their classroom instruction (Dolan and Worden, 1992). The cost of *yobikoo* education is high, comparable to first-year university expenses, and some specialized courses at *yobikoo* are even more expensive. Some *yobikoo* publish modified commercial versions of the proprietary texts they used in their classrooms through publishing affiliates or by other means, and these are popular among the general population preparing for college entrance exams. *Yobikoo* also administers practice examinations throughout the year, which they open to all students for a fee.

Students spend most of their time preparing for entrance examinations for the major universities which have good reputations in the labor market, and they usually do not have the future vision of what they want to study in the university.

As I describe the situation of Japanese education system, it is clear that Japanese students have less vision and plans for the future but they focus on success in entrance examination, especially for colleges and universities that leads to their success in the society.

2. After Entering University

After passing the entrance examination, most of university students free from the long '*Shiken-jigoku*' period and have opportunities to have as much free time as they have ever before. They call college life 'paradise'. Once they enter the university, most of students are required to attend the classes that are assigned. As is mentioned, the education is mostly one-way lecturing. They seldom have concerns about achievement in class, such as participation, discussion, and projects in class. Even the university education is largely rote learning. The first three years, students learn the basics, and the final year, students

work together in laboratories and apply theory. For the first time they actually have experimental and practical experience. They are not required to get any special skills or qualifications for recruiting, because most companies expect them to have ability to adapt themselves to their circumstances. This may be companies or institutions' work to adopt and train them to their organization as they fit in it.

Unlike the United States, graduate schools are not stressed in Japan. Even though 60 percent of all universities have graduate schools, only 7 percent of university graduates advances to master's programs, and total graduate school enrollment was about 4 percent of the entire university student population (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994).

The generally small numbers of graduate students and the graduate enrollment profile results from a number of factors, especially the traditional, industrial employment pattern. The private sector frequently prefers to hire and train new university graduates, allowing them to develop their research skills in the corporate structure. Thus, the demand for students with advanced degrees is low.

3. The Effectiveness of Education

Since kindergarten, the Japanese receive very broad theoretical education throughout their schooling, and this is what is required in Japanese management. There are three qualities that are required for new recruitment. These are: Firstly, they must have broader abilities beyond their specialties, and they should develop their wider aptitudes; secondly, they should have a broader view or perspective; thirdly, they must have a high level of skills and a wide range of knowledge (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994). They are expected to devote themselves to the organization they have adopted. So far as Japanese management is successful in the world, the Japanese education system seems to have been effective.

There is a great concern with the number of youth in the next generation these days. (see Table 3, Figure 2 and Figure 3) The number is decreasing year by year. It can cause big change in education system, that will emphasize individuality due to the small number of

children. The trends will be better quality rather than quantity, and the recruiting and the form of employment in Japan will be based on the achievement at school. But the situation that has been seen will last for next decade.

In the next chapter I describe features of the Japanese management and organization which is deeply influenced by the Japanese culture, history, and education system, that is different from Western ones, introducing theories about Japanese organization by William Ouchi.

Table 3. Change in Male/Female Population

	MALE Ages			FEMALE Ages		
Year	**15-19**	**20-24**	**15-24**	**15-19**	**20-24**	**15-24**
1991	940	3,270	4,210	870	3,260	4,130
1992	914	3,360	4,274	846	3,350	4,196
1993	888	3,450	4,338	822	3,440	4,262
1994	862	3,540	4,402	798	3,540	4,338
1995	836	3,630	4,466	774	3,630	4,404
1996	810	3,720	4,530	750	3,720	4,470
1997	786	3,590	4,376	716	3,610	4,326
1998	762	3,470	4,232	682	3,500	4,182
1999	738	3,340	4,078	648	3,390	4,038
2000	714	3,216	3,930	614	3,280	3,894
2001	690	3,090	3,780	580	3,170	3,750
2002	680	2,996	3,676	560	3,086	3,646
2003	670	2,900	3,570	540	3,000	3,540
2004	660	2,810	3,470	520	2,920	3,440
2006	640	2,620	3,260	480	2,750	3,230

(1,000 Persons)
Source before 1993 - *National Census, Population Estimate*
Source After 1993 - *Future Estimate of Japan's Population Problems*

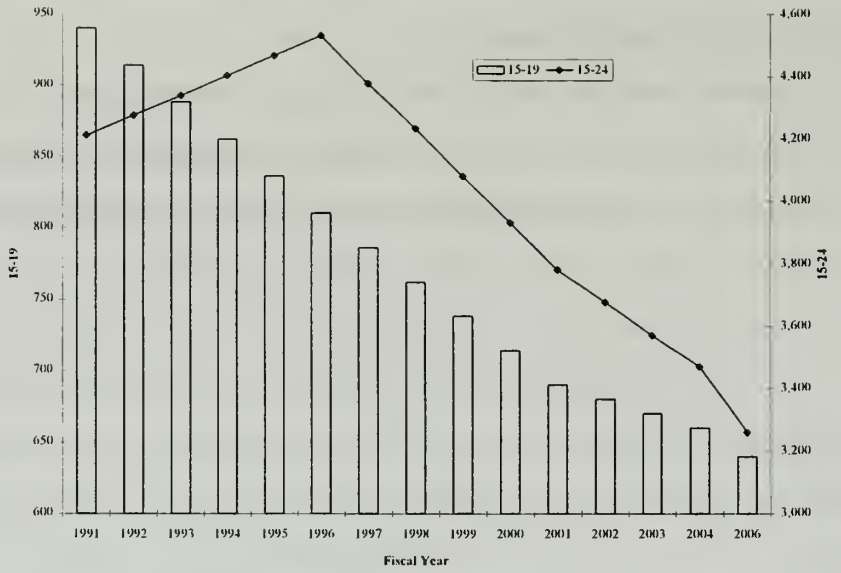

Figure 2. Future Estimate of Japan's Male Population

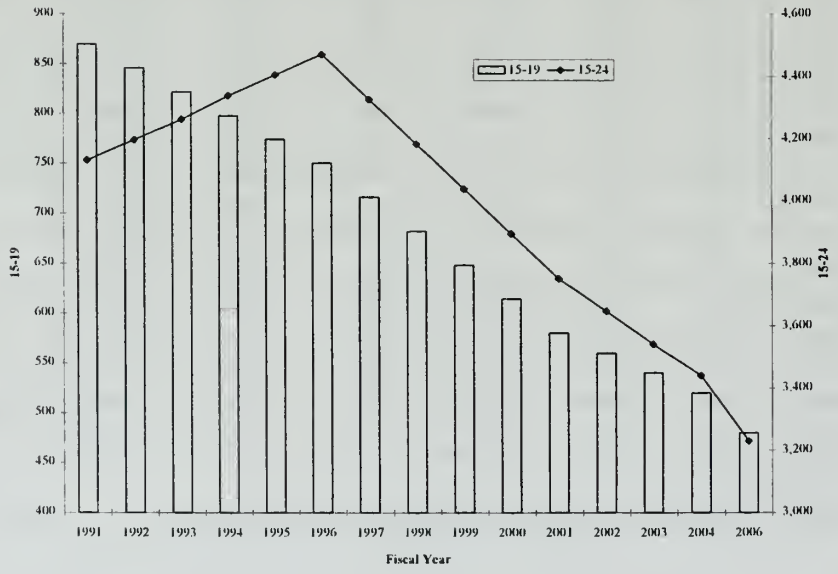

Figure 3. Future Estimate of Japan's Female Population

IV. JAPANESE MANAGEMENT

In previous chapters, we saw that Japanese characteristics are deeply affected by history, culture, and education at previous chapters. How those factors affect Japanese management, especially in the Japanese corporations, is the subject in this chapter.

Japanese education system has trained students to be obedient to seniors and authorities, and has taught the importance of harmony in a group or an organization. Schools has played important role of educating students to be members of society, how they should behave and what are required in the Japanese society. They would know by graduation of upper-secondary school the behavior as an adult Japanese that Japanese style of management request them to be. Both commercial and governmental organizations in Japan mostly have a sense of society. Japanese style of management is based on the experience of Japanese people in schools and society.

I illustrate the recruitment in Japan, the style of Japanese corporate management and its features, and relation between the organization and values of the Japanese that they learned in school education.

A. RECRUITMENT IN JAPAN

Students who have had the most memorable fun time in university, or the graduates of upper-secondary schools have to face the fact when deciding their career that they are at a very important point of thinking about their life time work. Only a very small proportion of the graduates of the lower-secondary schools go on to recruitment due to high rate of entering the upper-secondary schools.

Most companies recruit from local high schools for factory assembly lines and those general occupations where skills or qualifications are not necessary. Up to the education in the upper-secondary school, recruits learn theories, knowledge, and common sense as a

member of a group and organization. The companies can adopt these recruits and train with the preferences as are acceptable to the companies.

In the late twentieth century, large companies provide their workers with higher salaries, excellent working condition, and secure employment (Dolan and Worden, 1992). Working in such a company is the dream of many young people in Japan, but only a select few can get these jobs because employment in the Japanese labor market is based mostly on educational background. Qualification for employment is limited to the men and the few women who graduated from the top thirty colleges and universities. There is a definite perceived ranking in the quality of universities, and the larger the company the greater the chances that it will be able to recruit exclusively from the better universities.

Those students who are not graduates of the highly rated universities or colleges rarely have a chance to work for large companies. Instead, they must seek positions in small and medium-sized firms that cannot offer comparable benefits and prestige. The quality of education and, more importantly, the college attended play decisive roles in a person's career. The extraordinary fact is that the better universities see it as their role to allocate graduates to companies.

Few Japanese attended graduate school and graduate training in business in the 1980s. There are only a few business school programs in Japan (Yamamoto, 1992). Companies provide their own training and show a strong preference for young men who can be trained in the company way. Interest in a person whose attitudes and work habits were learned outside the company is low. When students are preparing to graduate from college, the attempt to find a suitable employer begins. New workers enter their companies as a group on April 1 each year. This process has been very difficult: there are only a few positions in the best government ministries, and quite often entry into a good firm is determined by competitive examination (Kono, 1992). In the 1990s, the situation is becoming less competitive because of a gradual decrease in the number of candidates.

The recruitment of a new employee is potentially a massive long-term investment for any organization; done effectively the opportunities open to the employer are almost unlimited, while done badly or haphazardly the long-term damage to both company and recruit can be immense (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994). Japanese companies is said to have a far-sighted vision for future investment. Employees are recruited for their learning ability, rather than their immediate knowledge. But this is true that the ranking of universities and colleges are making difficult condition for smaller companies to get those students of high grade universities who might grow the potential of the company. The situation can be one of phenomenons caused by cultural background that students eager to enter the larger company that can afford to take care of his/her almost entire life of work and that guarantees stable circumstances.

B. JAPANESE STYLE OF MANAGEMENT

The Japanese management famous to the world generally limited to the large companies those which are notable. But largely, the features of the management in large companies in general can be applied to the most companies in Japan. Toyohiro Kono, professor of business administration in Gakushuin University, explains the characteristics of Japanese management:

> There are three characteristics of Japanese style of management: It is an innovative organization. The goals of the organization are clearly stated, and growth and employee welfare are considered as important. Top management is a team, they are imitative but are sensitive to new opportunities. They are supported by the staff of large headquarters office.
>
> It is a soft organization. Jobs are ambiguous, and employees are willing to do any related jobs. Most of the decisions are done by participation, so a group decision is the usual type.
>
> It is a community organization. Employees are considered as a partner in an organization for their life-time. The organization provides more opportunity for promotion and wage increase with small differentials, which operate as incentives. (Kono, 1992, p. 22)

He also writes that some of these features are rooted in the uniqueness of Japanese culture, but many of them were transferred from other countries and modified. Actually, it was after World War II that rational thinking and American or European theories and business practices were introduced to Japan. To think about the fact that this country has been made up of systems which were imported from foreign countries and arranged as acceptable to the nation, it seems natural that many features of Japanese style of management are universal and transferable.

The Followings are some of features in Japanese management.

1. Life-time Employment

William Ouchi writes in his book Theory Z the comparison of Japanese companies with Americans: While American organizations have relatively high mobility and turnover, Japanese organizations provide life-time employment for their basic work force. (Ouchi, 1981)

One of the prominent features of Japanese management is the practice of life-time employment (*shuushin koyoo*). Management trainees, traditionally nearly all men, are recruited directly from colleges or universities when they graduate in the early spring and, if they survive a six-month period with the company, are expected to stay with the companies for their entire working careers. Once a person enter the organization, he will devote himself to the organization for his life-time, and will stay until around sixty years old. During the employment he will stay in one organization and will not leave. The organization will take care of the employee for his life time. It is very rare to see women who stay for their life-time. Most of them leave the company when they get married. Married women will devote themselves to the family. The life-time employment is originated by the traditional way of thinking, a value of devoting themselves to an organization, that the Japanese have. After the World War II, the GHQ and occupation policy tried to remove this thought from Japanese, but it was impossible because of the deep

penetration through the nation (Beasley, 1994). Moreover, the devotion to the company was reinforced because they noticed that both employer and employees could get merits.

There are many merits of this employment system. By spending a lot of money and time on training, both the organization and employees can get benefits. There are little fear of losing employees who are well trained and have accumulated knowledge to perform the demand of the organization (Monden, 1985). For the organization it is easy to keep the R&D operation because the employees can stay in the organization and just concentrate on the research to improve technology and so on, and for the employees they do not have to worry about losing their job. More importantly, being in one organization can bring to the employees feeling of loyalty that enables to bring more benefit to the organization. This is a value of the Japanese, which is so called '*on* ' (obligation or debt) and '*giri* ' (obligation or duty) in any kind of Japanese society. The company is more concerned about the long-term growth, so the company has to establish the long-range personnel plan to increase the productivity of labor (Kono, 1992). But it is not often the case in Japan that the company decreases number of employees or lays off for the purpose of productivity, because they think each one of employees as a family member.

The life time employment system does not necessarily mean that the number of employees cannot be reduced. Kono explains some methods to cope with decreased demand for man-hours:

> Overtime work is decreased first. Suspension of new recruits, early retirement with an increased rate of retirement allowance (flexible retirement system). Temporary 'going back to country home' with pay, are frequently used. Voluntary retirement is solicited from aged people. The last resort is to decrease the number in employment. In this case older people will be selected first and younger people will be kept. (Kono, 1992, p.18)

The life-time employment system offers the stable life plan to the most of employees, that their life styles are easily predictable and that gives satisfaction unless they are ambitious and intend to be a millionaire.

2. Generalists

> American organizations are much more likely to provide highly specialized career paths for different managers - a financial manager always works in finance, while a manufacturing manager never leaves manufacturing. In Japanese organizations, specialized career paths are unusual, and most employees move through a variety of different functions in the course of their careers. (Ouchi, 1981, p.165)

The life-time employees are hired as generalists, not as specialists for a specific positions. A new worker is not hired because of any special skill or experience; rather, the individual's intelligence, educational background, and personal attitudes and attributes are closely examined. On entering a Japanese corporation, the new employee will train from six to twelve months in each of the firm's major offices or divisions (Lorriman and Kenjo, 1994). Thus, within a few years the employee will know all of company operations, knowledge which allows companies to be more productive.

Also, the employee will learn the importance of loyalty to the company. For example, he/she have to be able to sing the company's song, which resembles national anthem, and memorize the slogans and missions/goals to show the devotion to the company, to reduce their free time for working for the company, and to experience all the work in the company, such as serving tea or coffee to the superiors, assembly work (only if the company is a manufacturer), chief of a small group, and so on. Training within the company is very much emphasized under the life-time employment system. Many companies have their own training canters, or they send the employees to the school that is appropriate for each functional skill (Kono, 1992). Japanese companies spend a lot of money and time on the off-the-job training. The on-the-job training is also common in Japanese companies, because it provides better communication within the function. In most Japanese companies, training is necessary where the job is ambiguous and where employees are required to do any relating job. Not many companies require the recruits to have special skills or abilities at the beginning. It is company's responsibility to train the recruits and

allocate them to the appropriate division to maximize benefits for both company and employees.

3. Promotion and Wages

In American organizations, evaluation is relatively explicit, and promotion is often rapid. In Japanese organizations, performance evaluation is relatively subtle and implicit, and promotion is slow (Ouchi, 1981).

A unique aspect of Japanese management is the system of promotion and reward. An important criterion is seniority. Seniority is determined from the year that an employee's class entered the company. Career progression or promotion is highly predictable, regulated, and automatic (Kimura, 1987). Compensation for young workers is quite low, but they accept low payment with the understanding that their payment will increase regularly and be quite high by retirement. Compensation consists of a wide range of tangible and intangible benefits, including housing assistance, inexpensive vacations, good recreational facilities, and, most importantly, the availability of low-cost loans for such things as housing and a new car (Dolan and Worden, 1992). Regular payment is often increased by generous semiannual bonuses. Members of the same graduating class usually start with similar salaries, and salary increases and promotions each year are generally uniform.

In many cases there are two ladders of promotion, one is the hierarchy of job gradings, another one is the hierarchy of status (Kono, 1992). The general practice of many corporations is that promotion on the status grading is done by taking into consideration the performance and the capability and the length of service. At the lower level an open test is required in addition to subjective judgment by the superior. Subjective judgment is used to a great extent to decide promotion on both ladders.

Early in a worker's career (by age thirty) distinctions are made in payment and job assignments. During the latter part of a worker's career another weeding takes place: the best workers are selected for accelerated advancement into upper management (Kono,

1992). There are cases that some workers rewarded harder work and higher production with higher raises and more rapid promotions, but most workers had more traditional forms of hiring and advancement. A few companies that have experienced serious financial problems laid off workers, but such instances were rare.

There is a wide rate of range of wages in the same job grade or status grade. Progression on the rate range is done by merit rating and by length of service (Sasaki, 1981). Every year the wages are increased to some extent, and, depending upon the performance there is only a small amount of difference among the employees. The purpose is to maintain harmony and avoid stress and jealousy within the group.

The status system is largely based on mutual respect. Promotion by length of service is related to the life-time employment where promotion is necessary because people do not move from one organization to another. Everybody can be promoted eventually to some grade, usually up to fourth or fifth grade from the bottom and this gives people the hope of advancement (Kono, 1992). The company sets a slight difference of speed of promotion among employees in order to give a strong incentive for productivity and creativity. The same effects can be found in wage increases by length of service, with a slight difference of amount of increase for merit.

Some problems have seen recently with this system. As the average age of employees increases, the wage cost increases under the length of service system. The result has been to decrease the amount of wage increase by length of service, and put more emphasis on merit rating.

4. Missions and Goals

In the Japanese companies, as the slogan, missions and goals are clearly stated, which are their philosophy of management. Kono states missions and goals as follows:

> Missions and goals have a hierarchy. Missions are the statement of the role the company wants to play in the larger environment. Goals are the highest value of the company, such as growth and profit. They have direction, level, and timing such as long-term goals and short-term goals. (Kono, 1992, p.11)

When missions and goals are clearly stated, they tend to motivate the employee, to increase the sense of identification with the organization. It becomes easier to understand the meaning of their work, to understand the relationship between the jobs they perform and the society.

Japanese companies also have a long-range view, and growth is an important item of goals. Due to the expectation of the life-time employee system and to keep the employees for the life-time, and to provide the employees with expected wage increase and promotion, the company has to grow. Welfare of the employees is also important as one of the goals. The company put stress on the protection of employees in long-range planning goals because employees are the company's property that cost a lot of money and time for training as an investment. In order to keep the productivity it is important to think about the welfare of the employees.

5. Strategic Decisions

Innovative organizations such as Japanese companies are sensitive to change of environment, the scope of research is wider, outside oriented and future oriented (Kono, 1992). Japanese management are sensitive to new technology and to new ideas, but they do not necessarily create the original idea. They are quick to introduce foreign ideas and to implement them by conducting development research. For example, Sony produced the small portable transistor radio (1955), television using transistor (1959), video tape recorder (1963), Trinitron color television tube (one gun three beams 1968), Walkman, the small portable cassette tape player (1980) for the first time in the world (Kono, 1992), but the original key technology came from the United States. Some people said that Japanese companies were stealing ideas, but it was consumers who chose the products. Nowadays, Japanese originated ideas are taken by companies of foreign countries, and they even export the products to Japan.

Japanese industries emphasize on R&D activity. They are eager to introduce new products. Engineers who works for the company are content with providing new

technologies to the world, and the company that takes the life-time employment system allow them to concentrate on R&D. That is how they developed their R&D activity.

Japanese companies have very strong head office staff, and decision are centralized. With the help of strong staff in the head office, top management interchange information and ideas with the staff, thus decisions are made by an interactive process, and generally speaking, this process is rather of a top-down process (Monden, 1985). The interactive approach in strategic decisions of Japanese companies is shown partly by a survey of the planning process of long-range planning. In the case of Japanese companies, corporate planning department plays an important role in preparing, and Management committees in reviewing, the final decision. Top-down and interactive processes result in an aggressive and analytical process of decision.

As was stated already, formal long-range planning has a very high diffusion among large Japanese companies. This high diffusion comes from several reasons: (a) top management is future-oriented, (b) in a high growth economy, it is necessary to forecast the long-term future, (c) long-range national economic plans have been published many times since 1956, which stimulated corporate planning and laid out the bases for long-range planning.

6. Ambiguity

> Japanese organizations are comparable to the natural stone walls which are seen at the many Japanese castles. The shape of stones are different from one to another, but they are combined so as to complement each other. Western organizations are comparable to brick walls, which are composed of standardized square bricks. (Clark, 1979, p. 47)

In Japanese organizations, Jobs are ambiguous and they have several characteristics: (a) Jobs are roughly defined, not well defined, and employee are required to do any related jobs; (b) job contents change all the time; (c) it is not necessary to do work other than specified jobs; and (d) there are many rules.

In Japanese organization, sometimes job names are not clear, and wages are paid by status, by performance and by length of service. In this situation employees will perform other duties if required. In the office, people work in a large room. They work as a team. Even the head of department is located in the corner of the large room. This system is quite different from that of Western layout where each staff member has an individual room and perhaps has a secretary.

7. Group Decision Making

> Where decision making in American organizations is frequently seen as an individual responsibility, decision making in Japanese organizations is a collective process that involves everyone who will be affected by the decision. This leads to an important contrast: American organizations make decisions more quickly but encounter problems of implementation. Japanese organizations take longer to make decisions but implement smoothly and rapidly. (Ouchi, 1981, p.43)

Most of large companies in Japan have management committees at the top level. Group decision making body at the top began to appear in the 1950s. The members usually consist of the chairman, president or managing director and executive directors (Kono, 1992). They meet mostly once a week, making decisions as a group. Each member has the responsibility for corporate decisions which covers several departments, receiving reports from these departments and giving advice to them. They are not the same as department heads, but they are in charge of general management and strategic decisions. Group decisions at the top level tend to be innovative. According to Monden, there are three reasons, which are:

> Firstly, by group meetings, information is provided by more participants and uncertainty decreases. Where there is uncertainty, people do not like to make decisions. Secondly, there is more diffusion of responsibility. Thirdly, positive opinions tend to dominate negative opinions in group meetings. (Monden, 1985, p. 33)

The high diffusion of management committees may be one of the causes of greater innovation in Japanese companies.

Group decision making and participation are popular even lower levels. Meetings within the section and meetings of those who have responsibilities throughout the sections are held frequently. This decision style is different from the system where the responsibility of each person is clear and each person does his job in his room with the help of a secretary. The reason for group decision or participative decision making may be as follows. People have equal capability and should be allowed to participate, and people are willing to participate because of a high sense of involvement.

The effects of this Japanese style group decisions are: (a) decisions tend to be slow but implementation is quick because everybody knows the concerned issue well; (b) decisions are better and errors are less because a lot of information and ideas are collected; and (c) morale is high because of participation.

8. Communication, Horizontally and Vertically

In Japanese organizations, Communication from individual to individual tends to be important. Japanese managers often use oral communication more than written memos. In the relations between individuals, Japanese communicate better with colleagues and seniors usually take care of their subordinates. Before making group decisions, '*nemawashi*' (unofficial arrangement beforehand) is usually required for the easier settlement. Under the life-time employment system, people are not competitive with each other apparently, so it makes easy to have a good communication system.

On the plant site, everybody wears the same uniform from plant manager to operator so it is easy for the managers to walk through the plant and to talk with everybody on the site. It is common that everybody including the managers have lunch at the same room so that they can communicate each other.

In the Japanese style, strategic decisions are taken by top-down or interactive approach, because strategic information is held by top level. Authority is not distributed equally in this respect. Employees are respected as partners of the organization in Japan. They are not considered as one of elements or resources for production. Life-time

employment is the result of this thought (Sasaki, 1981). In the life-time employment system, the organization try to take good care of people. The following are the features of personnel management of Japanese companies.

9. Good Personal Records and Self-statement System

Personal records are mainly comprised of personal career and merit rating record. Records are kept even for the blue collar workers and there is no distinction between blue and white collar at all. These records supply information for reviews for promotion and wage increases.

Self-statement is a statement of Jobs, annual goals, self appraisal, extent of use of ability. This is sometimes accompanied by observation sheet from a supervisor, which states job content, qualification, training given, capability to present job, need for promotion or transfer, training needed, and characteristics of personality.

10. Morning Meeting

A meeting is held every morning, usually in each section of the plant site. Information is given, and sometimes an employee is asked to give a speech on his/her thoughts and ideas. Morning meetings are also popular in primary schools and middle schools so this is an easily accepted habit for new employees in organizations. Unions are not against these kinds of meeting.

11. Group Activity

Whereas American culture highly prizes individuality, Japanese culture prizes collective effort (Ouchi,1981). Group activity is encouraged on most of the plant sites. The subject of the activities are selected by the group. They may be quality control, cost reduction, production method, improvement of machines and materials. The group is formed usually within the formal organization, and thus a group activity is to organize an informal group within the formed group. The group leader is selected by the group members. Group meetings are usually held after working hours and overtime is paid for this activity.

Group activity is a kind of job participation. It improves the quality of products, and also enhances the sense of identification with the company. Kono states about the group activity as follows:

> Japanese corporations imported the techniques of quality control and it was accepted enthusiastically. It was implemented as a technical system, but at the same time it was taken up as a subject of group campaign throughout the company, and as a subject of small group activity. Eventually quality control diffused throughout the company, not only as a technique but also as a way of thinking. Here is one of the secrets of the better quality of Japanese products. (Kono, 1992, p. 21)

Same as the group decision making, the group activity is one of the values that Japanese have got accustomed to since their school life and activities.

12. Welfare System

There are several welfare programs in the company. Housing provided by the company and resort houses are very popular. The financial benefits such as loan for home or car ownership with low rate of interest are provided by many companies. Large bonuses are paid during summer and at the end of the year, which account for more than five months of pay. This is rather a method of payment than a benefit.

C. SUMMARY

As a community organization, the company respects the employee. It keeps good record of employees, and encourages participation by group decision and group meetings. And it provides with a number of welfare programs to the employee. These are the way to encourage devotion and to enhance productivity and creativity. Incentive systems are used to a great extent in Japanese organizations.

In addition, consensus is stressed as a way of arriving at decisions, and close attention is paid to workers' well-being (Dolan and Worden, 1992). Rather than serve as an important decision maker, the ranking officer of a company has the responsibility for

maintaining harmony so that employees can work together. A Japanese chief executive officer is a consensus builder.

In each features of the Japanese style of management, the values of the Japanese and the educational background deeply influence the Japanese organization and that the organization functions as a community. These features are seen in the governmental organizations including the Defense Agency and its affiliate.

In the next chapter, I describe the organization of Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force and its features, including the similarity and the differences of the Japanese companies.

V. THE CHARACTERISTICS AND STRUCTURE OF JMSDF

The Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) is regarded as Japan's armed naval force by most countries of the world. Its function is considered to be the same as that of foreign military forces. The concept is in a way true, but as a function it has many similarities to Japanese companies which is different from Western organizations. Looking back from the establishment to the present, I describe the features of the organization of JMSDF and how it relates to the culture and education.

A. HISTORY OF THE SDF

On the 15th of August, 1945, at the end of World War II, Japan was for the first time under foreign military occupation. The American government provided the policies that occupied Japan should follow. The purpose of the policy was to ensure that Japan would not become a menace to the security of the world, and Japan would be admitted as a responsible and peaceful member of the family of nations. The first step to be taken was 'to abolish Japan's militarism and ultra-nationalism'(Kimura, 1987, p. 99) in order to control Japan's capability to engage in war. They also reinforced democratic tendencies and processes in governmental, economic, and social institutions, encouraging and supporting liberal political values.

The implementation of this policy was undertaken by General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Decisions of the Far Eastern Commission were directly transmitted to him to implement. Military supplies and installations were destroyed and over five million men were returned to home. In addition, those Japanese who were identified as war criminals were put on trial. Twenty-eight political leaders were brought to the international tribunal in Tokyo,[4] and accused of planning and initiating the

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4 This building is now used by the Ground Self Defense Force.

previous war. Seven were condemned to hang, eighteen were imprisoned, two died in the trial and one was hospitalized due to a mental collapse (Beasley, 1995). In the Yokohama area alone, 700 officers were sentenced to death and another 3,000 to various terms in prison. But, the emperor was not tried as a war criminal because of the emperor's role as a symbol. At the constitutional convention, the emperor had to confirm any decision that was presented by the advisors during the war. General MacArthur also opposed the trial because he worried about the social confusion that might occur if the emperor was tried.

Reforming members of American General Headquarters, who saw the Japanese society as the militaristic and feudal by nature, believed Japan needed fundamental change. They started by introducing democracy and replacing the constitution in which the military and the Imperial Court had much power (Beasley, 1995). Thus, Japan underwent drastic changes under the American General Headquarters' order of democratization.

The new constitution included Article-nine, which states that 'the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation, undertaking on that account not to maintain land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential " (Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, vol. 9, II, 1983, p. 10). It is said that this was introduced by General MacArthur, and it has been a source of disputes about the legality of the Self Defense Forces and Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements.

With the beginning of the Cold War and hostile relations between Soviet Union and the United States, Mao Tse-tung's victory in the Chinese civil war in 1949, and conflict between North and South Korea, Japan's strategic value increased dramatically. The United States became concerned about the future of Japan as a partner in the international community. Because the democratization seemed to be completed, the treaty was signed in San Francisco in September, 1951, that is to restore Japanese sovereignty and confirm the loss of territory that Japan had gained since 1895. It also contained the future settlement about the war reparation, and that announced the ending of occupation of Japan (Kimura, 1987).

In this way, the United States was able to reduce the burden of its military commitment to Japan. At the same time, Japan needed to possess some sort of force to ensure domestic security, while the American force was providing defense externally. Since the peaceful constitution was effective, possessing such a force was not acceptable to Japanese opinion. The outbreak of the Korean war in 1950 caused the United States to demand the Japanese government to create the National Police Reserve (NPR) with a strength of 75,000 men. Shigeru Yoshida, prime minister at that time, persuaded the opposition groups into signing up the defense agreement at the time of the San Francisco treaty of 1951; this promised to continue providing bases for the American forces (Kimura, 1987). When the agreement became effective the following year, the National Police Reserve became the National Safely Force (NSF). Renamed again in July 1954, it became the Self-Defense Force (Jiei-tai). It is administered by the Defense Agency (Boei-cho) under the Director General (Minister of State for Defense), who holds cabinet rank and is a civilian.

Giving serious reflection to the regrettable state of affairs that prevailed in the country until the end of World War II, Japan has adopted systems of uncompromising civilian control that are entirely different from those under the former Constitution, so that the SDF should be established and operated at the will of the people. Thus, Japan gained forces again but that is restricted only to self-defense. Since the top of the organization of the SDF is civilian, that refers to political priority over the military or democratic political control of the military in a democratic state.

The organization of the SDF is, so to speak, one of the Japanese governmental organization and it is operated as it actually is.

B. THE STRUCTURE OF THE SDF

It has been more than 45 years since the NSF, now the SDF, was established. The SDF organization has been changing very slowly. Its fundamental structure has remained

mostly unchanged in the post war period. The reason for this stability derives from Japan's cultural and historical context as well as Japan's post World War II ideology.

1. Mission and Goal of the SDF

The government view on the article nine of constitution is that Japan is permitted to possess the minimum necessary level of armed strength that is limited to the self-defense. Under the basic policy for national defense, the SDF exists as a force, not a "military power". The distinction is unclear, but the government believes in the legality of the SDF, as do most Japanese people. The existence of the SDF has been ambiguous since its establishment.

The government has tried to avoid drastic changes in structure of the SDF in order that people, both domestically and internationally, would not feel threatened by the existence of the SDF. The government also has kept announcing the legitimacy all the time since the establishment of the SDF in light of its tragic history. This represents typical Japanese behavior of appealing to the public for their intentions. As the missions and goals are important in the Japanese style of management, the government also declares the mission and goal of the SDF. As a policy, they like to state their missions and goals in public.

Under the democratic government, SDF is conducting the operations. The defense report clearly states the fundamental perception of the existence of the SDF as follows:

> Peace and security cannot be obtained simply by wishing or desiring. Japan must not neglect appropriate efforts suiting its own environment in order to maintain its own security in the light of the present state of the international community. Japan has the means to maintain its security in terms of diplomatic efforts to ensure stable international policies, the establishment of fundamentals for security through stabilizing domestic affairs, and self-defense efforts and the firm maintenance of the Japan-U.S. security arrangements.[5]

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5 Defense of Japan 1996 (Defense Agency) p. 57.

The Japanese government explains the necessity of defense efforts and appeals to the public for the legitimacy of the SDF. The statement does not necessarily reflect the actual perception of operations in the organization. By using florid language, they try to give good impression to others. This type of statement of philosophy can be seen in most of Japanese companies. These statements are sometimes called '*tatemae*' (words of intentions), distinguished from '*honne*' (actual intentions). These are one of the Japanese value in the society that lessens the risk of conflicts and let people relieved. Kono (1992) describes such statements as a declaration of the role of the companies in the environment and gives the example of Matsushita Electric Co: 'To supply the consumer with electric home appliances at a cheap price like water.'

The 'mission and goal' statement works as a slogan to give all the member the intention or meaning of existence of the organization and themselves.

2. Organization of the SDF

The organization of the SDF may be categorized as a sort of the divisionalized form of organization according to Mintzberg (see Figure 4 and Figure 5). The structures of the divisions mostly represent machine bureaucracies that have large support staffs and technostructures; there are many layers between the apex and the operating levels (Bolman and Deal, 1991). This form can be seen in most large Japanese companies and governmental organizations. The units serve specific areas and their own functional units, and each of apex is being controlled by the needs for strategic missions and goals. The units have considerable autonomous and are responsible for achieving measurable results.

The SDF comprises various units centering on the GSDF, MSDF and ASDF, that are armed organizations which play the central role in Japan's national defense, a goal of the organization. Each force has various functions, and their combat units and logistics support units are put together in order to provide a consolidated line of defense. Specifically, each force consist of combat units and support units such as supply,

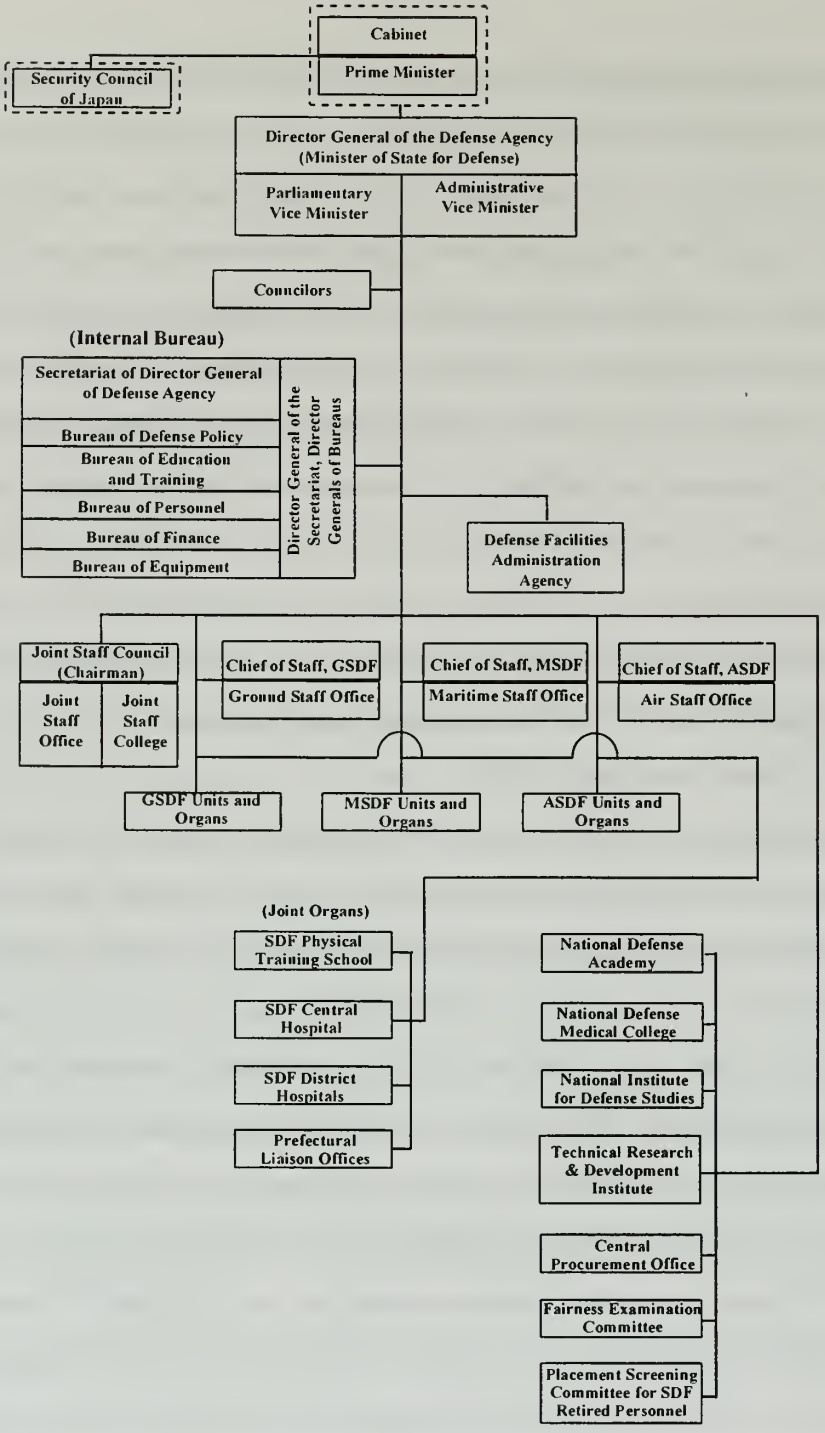

Figure 4. Organization of Self-defense Forces
From Ref. (Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan*)

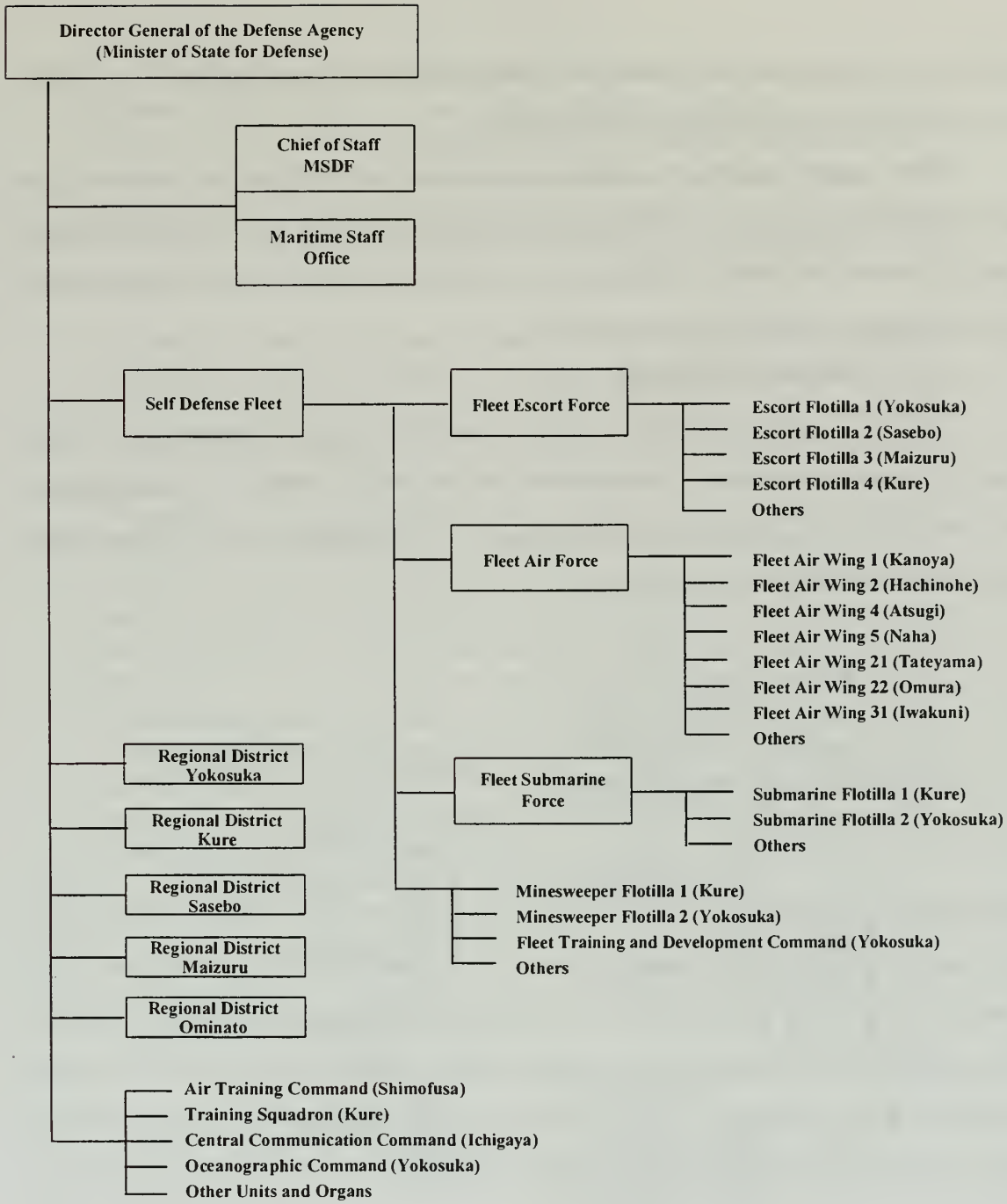

Figure 5. Organization of Maritime Self-defense Forces
From Ref. (Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan*)

maintenance, transport and medical services to provide the necessary backup to maintain a constant level of equipment and troop performance.

These operations are quite similar to the organization of U.S. military because Japan imitated the organization and operations from the beginning with the advice of the United States. Japan has been good at imitating other's products and adjusted as it is acceptable to Japanese society. The SDF is not an exception.

3. Personnel of the SDF

The SDF personnel consists mostly of uniformed regular personnel, uniformed reserve personnel and civilians, such as administrative officials, technicians and engineers, and instructors in the organization described above. The Defense Report illustrates these main personnel descriptions. (see Figure 6)

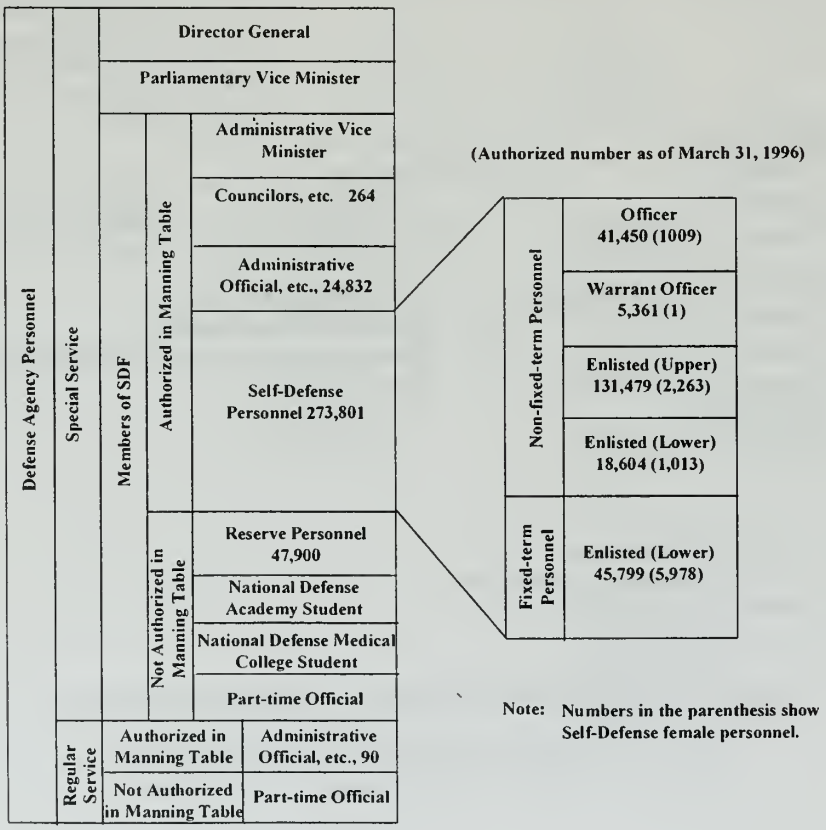

Figure 6. Classification and Numbers of Personnel of the JDA
From Ref. (Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan*)

> Uniformed regular personnel are initially appointed as officer candidate, sergeant (GSDF, ASDF) or petty officer (MSDF) candidate, or as private 2nd class (GSDF), seaman apprentice (MSDF) or airman 3rd class (ASDF) under the volunteer system. Recruiting activities for uniformed regular SDF personnel are conducted by the SDF local liaison offices at 50 locations across the country with the cooperation of local governments and other organizations.
>
> The Defense Agency has a total of about 25,000 civilian officials, including administrative officials, technical and engineering officials, and instructors, who all perform their activities in close cooperation with uniformed personnel. Many civilian officials are engaged in the formulation of defense policy in the Internal Bureau and in the administrative services required for the operation of the SDF, such as those related to general affairs, welfare, accounting, procurement and base countermeasures. Many others perform logistics support functions, such as maintenance and repair of ships, aircraft and other equipment, and maintenance and management of SDF stations and bases. Furthermore, in order to maintain and improve the qualitative level of the nation's defense capability in this age of rapid scientific and technological progress, technical and engineer officials are working on various technological R&D projects. In addition, faculty members at the National Defense Academy and the National Defense Medical College and professors at the National Institute for Defense Studies are engaged in studies and research, and in education.[6]

The recruitment of SDF also is the same as that of most Japanese companies. As I described in the previous chapter, it is based of new graduates from high schools, colleges, and universities. Most of recruits choose the SDF as a life-time career. Because of the recent recession in the Japanese economy, school-leavers tend to seek work that is stable in pay and status, such as a government worker who has life-time employment until retirement. Currently, the competition for entering the SDF is becoming increasingly severe. (See Table 4 and Table 5)

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6 Defense of Japan 1996 (Defense Agency) p. 188.

Table 4. Authorized Number and Actual Number of Self-Defense Personnel

Services	GSDF	MSDF	ASDF	Joint Staff Council	Total
		Officers			
Authorized Number	23,753	9,212	9,218	139	42,322
Actual Number	23,167	9,157	8,987	139	41,450
Manning Rate (%)	97.5	99.4	97.5	100.0	97.9
		Warrant Officers			
Authorized Number	3,778	1,044	900		5,722
Actual Number	3,556	982	823		5,361
Manning Rate (%)	94.1	94.1	91.4		93.7
		Enlisted (Upper)			
Authorized Number	83,237	24,083	25,510	21	132,851
Actual Number	82,583	23,868	25,007	21	131,479
Manning Rate (%)	99.2	99.1	98.0	100.0	99.0
		Enlisted (Lower)			
Authorized Number	69,232	11,746	11,928		92,906
Actual Number	43,209	10,128	11,066		64,403
Manning Rate (%)	62.4	86.2	92.8		69.3
		Total			
Authorized Number	180,000	46,085	47,556	160	273,801
Actual Number	152,515	44,135	45,883	160	242,693
Manning Rate (%)	84.7	95.8	96.5	100.0	88.6

From Ref. (From Ref. (Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan*)
(As of March 31, 1996)

Table 5. Application for the Recruitment of SDF Personnel

Classification			Applicants	Accepted Personnel	Rate of Competition
General, Technical Officer Candidates		GSDF	3,818(627)	99(10)	38.6(62.7)
		MSDF	1,421(273)	71(6)	20.0(45.5)
		ASDF	1,519(270)	59(7)	25.7(38.6)
		Total	6,758(1,170)	229(23)	29.5(50.9)
Enlisted (Upper)	Technical Petty Officers	MSDF	153	32	4.8
	Nurses	GSDF	72	8	9.0
Students as E(U) Candidates		GSDF	14,258(2,741)	399(40)	35.7(68.5)
		MSDF	3,551(695)	415(18)	8.6(38.6)
		ASDF	4,533(675)	401(18)	11.3(37.5)
		Total	22,342(4,111)	1,215(76)	18.4(54.1)
Youth Cadets		GSDF	6,441	228	28.3
		MSDF	1,361	52	26.2
		ASDF	1,467	57	25.7
		Total	9,269	337	27.5
Student Airmen		MSDF	2,077(160)	70(2)	29.7(80.0)
		ASDF	3,048(207)	62(5)	49.2(41.4)
		Total	5,125(367)	132(7)	38.8(52.4)
Student Nurses		GSDF	6,218	98	63.4
E(U) Candidates		GSDF	19,125(3,773)	1,758(105)	10.9(35.9)
		MSDF	4,297(900)	489(20)	8.8(45.0)
		ASDF	5,449(884)	606(22)	9.0(40.2)
		Total	28,871(5,557)	2,853(147)	10.1(37.8)
Privates, Seamen Apprentice, and Airmen 3rd Class	Men	GSDF	17,744	5,389	3.3
		MSDF	3,126	751	4.2
		ASDF	3,271	744	4.4
		Total	24,141	6,884	3.5
	Women	GSDF	4,514	412	11.0
		MSDF	955	60	15.9
		ASDF	958	85	11.3
		Total	6,427	557	11.5
National Defense Academy	Admitted by Recommendations	Engineering	241(41)	60(6)	4.0(6.8)
		Humanities	212(66)	17(6)	12.5(11.0)
		Total	453(107)	77(12)	5.9(8.9)
	Admitted through Examinations	Engineering	10,195(1,294)	314(12)	32.5(107.8)
		Humanities	6,556(1,512)	64(8)	102.4(189.0)
		Total	16,751(2,806)	378(20)	44.3(140.3)
National Defense Medical College			5,970(1,460)	65(13)	91.8(112.3)

Notes: 1. Figures in brackets denote females.

2. 6,884 male privates, seamen, apprentice and 3rd class are those entered in fiscal 1995. Those recruited in fiscal 1995 total 6,589.

From Ref. (From Ref. (Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan*)

4. Recruit Training

The recruits are "well tamed" as trainees of the SDF because they already are used to obeying orders. They have been trained since they were in kindergarten. The Japanese education system is a product of bureaucratic Japanese standards; it seems like military training because the system is rule driven. Even in Japanese companies, recruits are not at all bewildered when they are in training centers that gives almost the same type of training as the SDF recruits receive. It requires physical strength, mental strength, and loyalty. Actually, there is little difference in personnel policies and practices between the SDF and Japanese companies. The differences between the SDF and Japanese companies is that the SDF is a non-profit seeking organization and consists of volunteers who have the motivation of devotion to the nation, the courage to face crises, patriotism, no wish for their own profit. Nowadays, large number of the recruits seems to choose the SDF as a stable job in pay and status, without the special feelings as a volunteer.

The SDF conducts extensive education and training in order to develop personnel who have a strong sense of duty, a good common sense backed by broad knowledge, a good personality and excellent skills (Defense of Japan, 1996, p.189). Recruit training is based on the one-way lecturing method, as are most Japanese educational institutes. It emphasizes following instruction, cramming, memorizing, obeying, and does not emphasize creativity.

In most cases, they are first divided into several groups (divisions), and compete with other divisions, strengthening their solidarity within the group. The recruits are given textbooks that are prepared by the educational branch. Mostly, the instructors are senior officers from several divisions, such as surface warfare, air, maintenance, and supply. The instructors follow the manual and give lectures on the textbooks. Tests are conducted almost once every two weeks to check achievement and progress, but most candidates prepare for the tests only the previous night because the questions will be nothing but the contents of textbooks. They concentrate on memorizing the textbooks and that brings

success for the future. In addition, physical training, such as rowing boats, swimming, running, and mountain climbing are required for the candidate in the name of competition between divisions.

The recruit has the right to choose the service which they would like to serve, but the time to be selected to the service is at the end of the training period. The headquarters thinks that basic education is necessary for recruits to better understand of whole organization of JMSDF and its interconnections. Most candidate thinks it is waste of time. For example, I spent one whole year in the Officer Candidate School (OCS) learning about some Fleet Air, Fleet Submarine, and supply, and mostly about the ship. After graduating from OCS, I had to spend eight months on the training ship, cruising around Japan and across the ocean, visiting other countries to understand the operations of the surface warfare. One year and eight months after I entered the OCS, I was assigned as a facility division officer for my entire life in the JMSDF. I will never get aboard a ship nor conduct shipboard operations again.

This type of educational training is common and well known in the JMSDF. It brings horizontal connections within the same class of the year, and vertical relation between the trainee and instructor. Since transfers are required once every two or three years, these relationships and connections are important when they conduct the operation or arrangement.

Similar relationship can be seen in Japanese companies. Recruits are put in a group of the year, and by training they make solidarity within the group that makes horizontal connections. After the training, they experience any related work to learn general idea of the company. Compared with the JMSDF, it seems that they rather compete with each other for future success of their own, than emphasize the solidarity, and the vertical relation is made only in each branch one is assigned.

C. MANAGEMENT IN JMSDF

JMSDF management does not differ much from governmental organizations in Japan. Sakaiya describes the tendencies of Japanese management as follows:

> One very important part of Japanese-style management, with its three pillars of life time employment, group orientation, and communization-company identification, is that all employees are forced to share the same set of attitudes and values.
>
> To be a "good employee" one must give up one's own thoughts and one's sense of belonging to family and regional society and be loyal only to the work- place community: one must belong only to the workplace. (Sakaiya, 1993, p. 42)

These tendencies describes the management of governmental organization. The JMSDF is not an exception. Sakaiya writes about not only the private sector but also government bureaucracies:

> Japan's bureaucrats are loyal not to Japan or the Japanese government but to their ministries and agencies, within which they have life-time employment.
>
> Japan's bureaucrats work passionately for the interests of the ministry to which they belong, in order to expand its authority and protect its traditions. Authority and traditions are the source of bureaucratic power and the basic elements used to expand the ministry organization and increase its budget. Loyalty of a bureaucrat to his or her ministry means a passion for extending the authority and guarding the traditions of one's particular ministry. (Sakaiya, 1993, p. 43)

In this statement Sakaiya points out the current situation of Japanese government bureaucracies, at the same time he implies the value of the Japanese; the tendency to protect its traditions, obedience to superiors, self-protection by preserving their own custom, and prevention of drastic change due to the fear of failure.

Management in the JMSDF is based on seniority. This value overwhelms entire organization, and they regard the tendency as tradition. The relationships such as classmates are also important in the operation, keeping horizontal relationship with each other in

harmony. Junior officers are expected to flatter and take care of senior officers, that means the senior has the priority in the operation of the JMSDF.

1. Life-time Employment

As is explained in the previous chapter, the SDF also takes the life-time employment system, or I should say that once one enters the SDF, one tries to stay for a life time. The organization takes good care of its people through its welfare system.

After the recruit training, cadets, candidates and newly commissioned officers are split into their specialties, by their choice and most of the case by the space available. They will be sent to the service school to learn their specialized knowledge and skills. Usually the specialty that one is assigned will not change as long as one stay in the organization. After the completion of the service school, they are expected to work in each of divisions. Of course there is a difference of the requirement for the enlisted personnel and the officer. The enlisted will work as they are told by their seniors in the division and devote themselves to the work and it will be appreciated by the chief.

The officer usually will be assigned to the division chief of nearly 15 to 20 members, consist of seaman apprentice to chief petty officer. Newly commissioned officer does not necessarily have a strong influence to the division because of the less skill and experience. The best way is to follow the chief petty's decisions for the success of completion of their tasks until one get to know the entire work. Here I can see the feature of Japanese style of management that the seniority is the most important value in the organization, even in the military.

The division chief is usually in charge of personal records of the division members. It contains the record of their educational background, skills, capabilities, achievement, personality, relationship with the others, their family situation, and so on. These records supply information for reviews for promotion and wage increases. It also can be the resource of transferring information. The transfer is held once every two to three years. It is thought to be the good way of communicating with the division of different regions that

broaden the vertical and horizontal connection for each individuals and avoid the mannerism or fall into a routine in one division.

The life-time employment give each individuals a good result because they are satisfied with the environment which has been given by the organization and its welfare system that is good enough for the rest of their life, in addition, their relation with their classmates and their seniors and juniors who broaden their life styles.

2. Welfare System

There are several welfare programs in SDF. In recent years, new barracks and quarters are provided for personnel and their families, and welfare facilities are under construction in order to improve the living environment. Health management services also are provided at the SDF hospital across the country in order to maintain the physical fitness of uniformed personnel. The financial benefits such as loan for housing or children education with low rate of interest are provided as the large company do. Of course the large bonuses are paid in summer and at the end of the year and fiscal year, which total account for more than five months of pay.

3. Promotion and Wage

This is the case in the Japanese management that the promotion is according to the seniority, the years of participation to the organization. For example, I was commissioned to an ensign and it took me two years and three months to be a lieutenant junior grade, and three years to be a lieutenant, so did my classmates. These promotion were automatic and has no obligation nor need of achievement of special duty at all. The years of service will decide the wage and the rank of the personnel. The basic idea of wage system is as follows:

> The Defense Agency's pay system for uniformed regular SDF personnel is equivalent in scale to that of regular national government employees and provides pay and various allowances depending on duties of the personnel. In addition, allowances in kind are provided, including meals for enlisted personnel living in barracks, uniforms and other clothing required to perform duties, which are either provided free of charge or loaned, and medical care for off-duty illness and injuries. (Defense of Japan, 1995, p.187)

The example is the chief petty officer who is fifty-year old gets almost 50 percent more than thirty-year old lieutenant, and the chief get almost the same wage of forty five-year old commander. It shows that the rank is nothing but shows only the responsibility and not much respect. Actually, many of enlisted personnel avoid to be chosen to officer due to less advantage for its pay and reward. To them, staying at the lower rank and getting certain wage is much smarter than getting a lot of responsibility and pressures and wages that is less different. This is the fact that is contradictory in the JMSDF.

4. Decision Making in JMSDF

In the organization of SDF, missions and goals are clearly stated and taught in the recruit education. According to the missions and goals, with the 5-year mid-term defense buildup program that the government have formulated, the Maritime Staff Office (MSO) makes strategic decisions of JMSDF. With the help of staffs that represents each division in the MSO, top management interchange information and ideas with the staffs. Thus decisions are made by the collective process, and the distribution of the budget is arranged to each division.

Because of bureaucratic organization, there are tendencies that are already mentioned at Management in JMSDF when they make decisions, even in the station/base level of decisions. Major divisions, such as air, fleet activities, have strong influence on the decision making with the number of staff, and overwhelm minor divisions, such as facility, supply, and many of logistic divisions, and this makes biased budget distribution for the entire operations.

In the station/base operation level, the division chiefs are called on the morning meeting that is held every week, and are given information of what is required for the week, or the intention of the top in the range of next one week to the quarter year. By attending this meeting, everyone will know the task of each division, and horizontal connection can be made between the divisions which can enable to perform the task with better understanding in harmony with each other.

Some commanders emphasize on the control over entire station/base operations. Firstly, the top suggests the intention for the station or the organization. Next, it comes down to the staff or supporter which has the strong influence to the top. The staff usually gives the intention to the chief of each division and the chief gives those subordinates the intention of the top. The subordinates have to give the suggestion to the chief and the chief gives the staff the suggestion. Finally, the top receives the several ideas which are brought by his subordinates, that makes him satisfaction for making decisions. This is so-called top-down, bottom-up decision making. It usually will be appreciated as the decision of the top, and the top will receive the rewards. In this case, subordinates are mostly reluctant to give their superior new ideas because it gives the advantage to the top only, and this case usually brings failure to the leadership.

In the military, each individuals have to be strict to the order, with respect to the rank and status, but in the case of routine operation, even top to the middle management in JMSDF, the chief are required to be the negotiator and harmonizer in the division and between divisions. In JMSDF, the motto, saying 'work in perfect harmony', is hung out on the wall in most of the office of any division.

D. WILL THE ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR CHANGE?

In today's international community after the end of the Cold War, the mission of the SDF has been changing to fulfill the demand of both international and domestic environment. But basically, the internal management has not changed and it may reveal Japanese bureaucracy. These tendencies lie on any governmental organizations.

It is not likely that the organization itself will meet drastic change as long as the SDF is under the control of the old-fashioned Japanese government. Closed communities, such as the governmental organization, tend to be reluctant to change their structures. They follow traditions, because by doing this, it may bring equal restructuring in the organization, and at the same time a harmony of the classmate in the top management level can be

destroyed. The Japanese dislike being treated unequally at any level as the value of the Japanese. When I was a cadet of the academy and attending the training in the regional operation, I asked how the organization could change since many ineffective situations existed. To my disappointment, many senior officers answered, "that is up to the senior officers in the future generations like you who will solve the problem." Having strong influence on operations and impacting the system requires taking risks. Risks may lead to failure, which would hurt careers. That is the reason why they do not change.

It is said that the value of traditions and Japanese social standards were transmitted generation to generation. As there is a saying 'from the cradle to the grave,' the education, controlled by the government, brainwashed the students to obey authority. One of the virtues of the Japanese is to respect seniority, any situation that has been taught and experienced during the school activities. The SDF shows how to arrange the organizational behavior as is acceptable to the Japanese in the Western-originated organization, but it may also be a model that remain more strong tendencies of the Japanese traditional style of management than Japanese companies due to the bureaucratic closed society.

Japanese people are saying that it is time that Japanese government should change the attitude of bureaucracy that preserve wasteful tradition of seniority and the vertical and horizontal connection, and it can be applied to the operations of the SDF. In order to reach at better result, the bureaucracy has to be abandoned in the system of the organization. Actually, under the recession, many of Japanese companies are facing the crisis and restructuring the organization to reduce the waste of time and money that comes from Japanese tradition. For the purpose, Japanese value of seniority has to be thrown away, and emphasizing on the rationality and ability to perform the task, so does the SDF. This can be a big project which the Japanese companies have confronted in recent years, and so does the Japanese government now.

It may be possible for the organization, even the government, to change the behavior if they really think of its survival and regain of the trust by the people. And if the

Minister of Education can revise the education system to which can say 'no' to the value of seniority and old tradition, and the Japanese society changes its environment so as to support the system, the Japanese style of management, both in a good way and a bad way, will disappear in the next generation.

VI. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

For nearly one hundred years, organizational theory, practices and systems were mostly transplanted from the United States or European countries to Japan. However, the Japanese arranged these management systems to fit their environment and culture: their political, educational, social and economic systems.

A. CONCLUSION

In Chapter III, I discussed how Japanese society and its environment have reinforced the educational system since it was organized. Under this system, students were taught obedience, uniformity, and the importance of harmony in society. In addition, they learned the importance of seniority and authority during their school years. Chapter IV described companies' requirements for recruits and related these requirements to the beliefs and values learned in school. All of these school experiences made the features of the Japanese style of management in both commercial and governmental organizations unique but stable in structure. For example, life-time employment gave the idea of an organization as a society, emphasized the importance of seniority; group decision making and group achievement emphasized the importance of harmony.

Chapter V illustrated that the JMSDF is one of many examples of Japanese organization. It practices a Japanese style of management that is similar to that of Japanese companies. The natural design principles of the SDF are almost the same as those of the military forces of the West, but its management differs due to its cultural context. Japanese culture has been influenced by American culture since the end of World War II. Although it looks like a copy of the American organization on the surface, the values of the Japanese remain apparent in its specific practices.

B. FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research is needed to examine changes in education and basic values that may affect Japan's management style. In the last ten years, individualism has become more important as the mass media and popular culture (e.g., T.V. dramas, movies, music, and fashion) has imported ever increasing quantities of American culture. The Japanese educational system has begun to emphasize more individuality in some schools in Japan. Moreover, some of American universities and colleges have opened affiliated schools in Japan. The Japanese are traveling abroad and looking at their own country more as outsiders. They notice the differences of the systems that they have, and they have started to change the system by seeking a greater variety of life styles.

As the media have imported Western culture, the values of the Japanese people have been changing to be more individualistic. To meet demands for specialists, the education system now allows schools greater flexibility in the curriculum. Many schools have started to introduce unique programs such as computer skill development classes and art specialist classes that are more individualistic and creative.

The tendencies toward individualism are somewhat frightening to the older and middle aged generations. Some of the young generation seem to ignore others and the norms in society. They seem to devote themselves to their own pleasure and not to think about their future. To the eyes of older generations, this individualism could be changing to selfishness. This undermines the former virtues of the Japanese, such as loyalty, harmony, and respect seniors. A major concern of the senior generations is how the values and educational background of the new generation will affect management style. How the Japanese people will change and how the change will affect management in both companies and governmental organization, including the JMSDF, are great concerns of my generation.

Now is the time to think seriously about the future generation of the nation.

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